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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on a formerly all-black high school, which formed one-half of the dual school system in North Carolina, in order to assess both the direct and indirect functions that the school may have performed in developing leadership skills, apprenticeship opportunities, and the total development of the black community. Seven reasons indicating the importance of the study are given, including the use of official data to document the formal structure of the school, the increase in awareness of the influence of leadership and membership on students and on school as a socializing agent, and the validity of the methodology used to test qualitative aspects of the high school. The study is presented in seven parts which deal with methodological perspective for for understanding the high school in North Carolina in relation with community development, data description for 1963-64 school year, the black high school, the black high school principal, the black high school ten years later--1973, and inferences and propositions that are seen to warrant further consideration. (Author/AM)

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F.A.R.

Urbana, Illinois
April 1974

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Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the formerly all-black high school, which formed one-half of the dual school system in North Carolina, in order to assess both the direct and indirect functions that the black high school may have performed in developing leadership skills and providing apprenticeship opportunities for students, parents, and staff, and in the total development of the black community within which it functioned. We felt that it would be important to examine the black high school as it previously existed as a basis for describing and documenting its positive contributions and the associated facets and interrelationships to the black community in particular and the larger community in general. Many of these facets and interrelationships cannot be recaptured now by simply looking at problems and issues that have arisen in the totally integrated school system and attempting to reconstruct the common operational structure of the all-black high school. The black high school was a world of its own with its own dynamic quality and its own ecological structure. It played a definite and specific role in the lives of people who touched it and were touched by it. By examining what did exist we will then be able to spotlight changes which have occurred in the community as a result of the removal of the black high school as a viable, dynamic, and pervasive force from the total structure of the community it served. This study is of vital importance for the reasons indicated below:

1. It will describe the structure of the black high school and will discuss the black high school as a historic phenomenon in the public education of black citizens.

2. It will use official data to document and describe the formal structure of the black high school.

3. It will make professional educators aware of the great influence that leadership and membership experiences can have on students.

4. It will thus provide a new approach to viewing the school as a socializing agency that had different effects on the futures of different students.

5. It will discuss the practices and procedures which enabled the black high school system to make positive contributions to the community.

6. It will point out previously ignored functions of the school and assess the importance of these to later individual success as well as to the development of the larger community.

7. It will establish whether or not the methodology employed to highlight these qualitative aspects of the black high school experience is valid.

During the last half of the 1960's, there was an increased awareness among black citizens primarily in Northern urban cities of the increasing deficiencies in achievement demonstrated by black children attending public schools. The achievement of black students in these areas worsened at each grade level from year to year and as each class moved to the next highest grade level. In addition, a growing percentage of black students were getting into difficulty with school officials and many of them were dropping out before completing their public school education. As the many deficiencies affecting the education of black youth were counted and noted in a variety and number of urban areas located in states outside the South, there was increased agitation for control over the operation of schools by the parents of the children served. This was the period when community control became the political ideal in most urban areas outside the South.

According to the argument of community control advocates, a smaller percentage of the country's white population were urban dwellers[1] and an increasingly larger percentage of that urban population (central city) was

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[1] 73% for the total population, 72.4% for the white population and 80.7% for the black population according to the 1970 census.

black.[2] However, because of changes in the population, the staff and personnel in schools located in these cities failed to reflect the composition of the students served. Consequently, with the increasing percentage of black children there was not a similar increase in staff who came from a similar background and who had the psychological, sociological, emotional and knowledge set to contribute effectively to the education of these children. As a result of this so the argument goes, the achievement level of black children lagged behind all others, and the personal relationship that motivated them to learn was not possible with teachers who were not black. From all of this it was concluded that schools attended by black children should be staffed and administered by members from their own group who cared for them as persons and believed in their ability to achieve as learners. This change would ensure the motivation of black children and would improve their image of themselves and increase their level of achievement.

On the surface the community control argument allows for improvement of the achievement and self-image of black children by using staff and personnel from the same group. It places the burden of positive change on the shoulders of the teachers themselves who exercise their judgment in fulfilling the roles expected of them and required in schools. Primarily, it leaves intact the institutional structure, patterns of operation, types of resources deployed, and approaches to instruction. To expect great change by only manipulating people and not their environment is to place

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[2] Of the 153 largest cities of 100,000 or more, 92% of these cities had a larger percentage of black dwellers than in the total population, 53 had twice the percentage, 25 had thrice the percentage and 4 had a black population of 50% or more. The combined population of these cities had 55.7% of the total population in the United States.

too much weight on one side of the equation affecting achievement and personal satisfaction in schools. However, it is difficult to counter such arguments with evidence since it has never been tried in Northern cities and since the facts suggest community control as the logical and reasonable solution to a persistent problem. The quest for supportive evidence is in part responsible for the conducting of a study of all-black schools in areas where schools were legally separated into segregated units.

After some thinking on the problem of community control of schools by black parents and professional staff in Northern cities, it is clear that some evidence should be presented to determine whether it is a "people-to-people" problem, a problem of institutional structure, or a combination of the two. What is needed is an example of schools where black professional staff had complete operational control over the education of black children in publicly supported schools. The only place where this appears to have been a practice was in Southern or Border states where the dual school system was a legally sanctioned approach to education. Black schools in dual school systems were staffed, managed, and maintained by black professional staff. Given that reality, a study of the dynamic and static components of these schools should reveal evidence gathered from those who attended the various schools that would shed some light on the claims made by supporters of community control. An additional reason for looking at the all-black high school is to observe the effects of its educational efforts with black students on the development of the black community.

North Carolina as a Study Site

North Carolina was selected as a study site for a variety of reasons. As a state, North Carolina probably operated one of the best black school

systems under the dual system of education. This conclusion is based on the comparatively high level of state support for black higher education in North Carolina. A study of Table 1 reveals that 66% of all black college students in North Carolina were enrolled in black state supported institutions in 1963-64 and that there were five black state supported institutions of higher education in the state. No other state had more state supported colleges for black students than North Carolina even though Louisiana and Arkansas had a larger percentage of black students educated in state-supported institutions. In absolute numbers, only Louisiana had more black students enrolled in state-supported colleges in 1963-64 and only Texas had more black students enrolled in all institutions in 1970. It should also be noted that there was only a 5.7% spread between the percentage of blacks in the population and the percentage of blacks in the college population in the state. While North Carolina ranks fifth in per capita income, in 1971 it ranked fourth in providing college spaces for black students in proportion to their representation in the total state population. Since it is reasonable to assume that the presence of higher education opportunities was the key to staffing black high schools in the segregated system, North Carolina proved to be one of the leaders among the states that had an official dual school system. This lent added support to selecting North Carolina as the state for conducting the study.

In addition to the above reasons, North Carolina was chosen as the study site because it has been a relatively progressive state and as such, probably mirrors closely how the black high school operated optimally given the conditions under which it existed. Also, the principal investigator was born, attended public grade schools and a publicly supported college in North Carolina. He was personally acquainted with key informants and the conditions under which they worked in several counties and major cities.

Table 1

Selected Comparisons of Educational Statistics Among States That Comprised the Confederacy

States	Percent of Black Population				1963-64 Affiliation of Black Colleges			1963-64 Enrollment in State Supported Black Post-Secondary Institutions			1970 Black Enrollment in All Post-Secondary Institutions			1970 Percentage Difference Between Population and Enrollment			Per Capita Income 1970 (Black & White)	
	%	1960 Rank	%	1970 Rank	State	Local Government	Private & Ch. Related	No.	%	Rank	No.	%	Rank	Diff.	Rank	% Covered	Rank	
Alabama	30	4	26.2	4	2		9	2,455	33	10	14,944	18.7	5	-7.5	7	71	9	2,828
Arkansas	22	7	18.3	8	1		2	2,242	73	11	5,877	14.8	11	-3.5	2	81	10	2,742
Florida	18	9	15.3	10	2	9	2	3,342	43	7	12,740	9.3	7	-6.0	6	61	2	3,584
Georgia	28	5	25.9	5	3		7	3,195	43	8	13,641	17.1	6	-8.8	9	66	4	3,277
Louisiana	32	3	29.8	3	2		2	8,752	84	1	17,773	20.7	3	-9.1	10	69	6	3,065
Mississippi	42	1	36.8	1	4	2	10	4,299	57	4	15,383	28.9	4	-7.9	8	79	11	2,561
North Carolina	24	6	22.2	6	5	1	7	8,424	66	2	20,887	16.5	2	-5.7	4	74	5	3,188
South Carolina	35	2	30.5	2	1		7	2,519	44	9	8,383	16.6	10	-13.9	11	54	8	2,908
Tennessee	16	10	15.8	9	1		7	4,200	53	5	11,885	12.7	9	-3.1	1	80	7	3,051
Texas	12	11	12.5	11	2	2	9	7,274	65	3	22,282	7.8	1	-4.7	3	62	3	3,515
Virginia	21	8	18.5	7	1		4	3,884	53	6	12,121	12.7	8	-5.8	5	69	1	3,586

Methods Used to Describe the Black High School

I. Historical Perspective

To set the stage for discussing black high schools in North Carolina we thought that it was necessary to provide a brief look at the development of public education in North Carolina. In this way we were able to point up those things which made the development of black high schools in North Carolina unique. As for resources, there were some studies which dealt with the early years of public education in North Carolina such as Marcus C.S. Noble's, A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina, and several chapters in Louis R. Harlan's Separate and Unequal. We also found state records on salaries, capital expenditures, sources of funding, etc., dating from 1873, when for all intents and purposes public schooling for blacks began and white public schools opened again on a full scale for the first time since the Civil War. Except for Harlan's book there was little on North Carolina schools in the 1900-1915 period. But when during the '20's North Carolina became really concerned with high school education and the quality of schooling, the state began making more of its own inquiries into the situation in the schools. The conditions, especially in the rural schools, black and white, caused great concern and consolidation (of white schools) became the plan of the day.

For the period of the 1930's, studies such as that commissioned by Governor Ehringhaus in 1933, Three Hundred Years of American High Schools, provided us with material on the black high school and for the 1940's other studies by the North Carolina Education Commission, such as Education in North Carolina Today and Tomorrow, were extremely useful in conjunction with the biennial reports which have been issued every other year since 1882 by the Office of State Superintendent on Public Instruction. Our information for the '50's is drawn from these biennial reports and from several studies

done as a result of the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education desegregation decision by the U.S. Supreme Court.

II. State Data

State data was, of course, of great importance. As noted above, we found State data which had been collected pretty regularly since 1873-74. But because we were mainly interested in looking at the black high school at a specific point in time, we were most interested in the raw detailed information which the schools reported to the Department of Public Instruction each year. There were, however, several problems. Perhaps our most difficult task was finding out what data were available and where they were located. Data is not kept by school but by year, by county, and by administrative unit within each county for information which is gathered each year, such as individual school enrollment. However all data gathered along these lines are not necessarily kept in one place, so that we found data on school enrollment in the Management Information Systems section of the Office of Public Instruction and we found the Preliminary and Annual Reports made by each school in the State Archives.

Other information, not collected annually, was filed by county and administrative unit within the county and such folders may contain information gathered over a period, say, of 30 years. This was particularly the case with information on school opening dates. What information we had we received from the Office of Public Instruction's Division of School Planning and that data did not cover all schools. We also worked with people in the Division of Secondary Education and in the Research and Development Area. Basically we had two problems with collecting State data:

1) Although people might know all there was to know about the information their departments had, they usually were not informed as to what data other departments had. This was a result of a decentralized data system.

2) There was no single place where all possible information on each school was stored. Furthermore, data was not arranged by school.

Checking what we thought might be another source of data, we found that on the whole official data which we attempted to obtain from local administrative units proved to be of little help due to the nature of their record keeping, the changes in personnel occuring since schools were integrated, the cautiousness of administrators in dealing with racially related material, and the logistical problems involved in obtaining information from overworked staff who were expected to locate, package, and mail the material to us.

As far as State data on black public high schools went, we were faced also with the fact that the State Department discontinued the practice of collecting separate data on black and white schools at the close of the 1963-64 school year. It was therefore decided that that year should serve as the boundary line period for collecting, collating, analyzing, summarizing, and evaluating the data that described the black high school as a dynamic operating unit. Since 1963-64 is the year for which we have the latest data for the greatest number of black high school students, we felt that data generated during this year would present an accurate and the most recent record of its functions, activities, opportunities, limitations, and beliefs affecting its operational efforts as a unique institution in the history of American education.

III Unofficial Data

To get a valid picture of the black high school, it is not merely enough to have state figures. These tell only half the story. They can only tell us about the quantitative aspects of the black high school. Certainly as important, if not more so, is the information to be gathered on the qualitative aspects of the black high school. For this we had to look to those who were most deeply involved with the schools. This included principals,

superintendents, teachers, students, parents, and community leaders.

Of course this part of the study is the most problematic for two reasons. The first is that we were dealing with an institution which no longer existed: The black high school in a dual school system. This meant that those telling us of their experiences were looking back with all the insight gained from hindsight and, as we are all aware, time can be a selective filter. This does not invalidate what they say, but it does make it necessary to corroborate as many different people's version of the way it was, so as to provide as accurate a general picture as possible. The second problem in dealing with qualitative information is one of interpretation. There is the danger that those dealing with it will either misinterpret it (not willfully), because they are not familiar with the background against which the information must be seen or that they will manipulate the information (willfully) so that it will illustrate their particular point of view. In dealing with the first problem of interpretation we have sought to offer as a remedy historical data and as much quantitative data as we could find to give the proper perspective. In our case, we also had the long-time perspective of our principal investigator. Insofar as the second problem of interpretation is concerned (willful manipulation), again we sought to avoid criticism on this point by providing as much quantitative information as we could lay our hands on. And we sought to temper our view of the high school which was gained mainly from those on the inside by interviewing superintendents, all of whom were white and all of whom said that although they had regular but infrequent dealings with the black high school principal, they were not too involved with the black high school, especially in its day to day functioning and its social role in the community.

We obtained our qualitative information in two ways: by using questionnaires and by doing interviews.

A) Questionnaires--These were administered to five groups of people: principals, teachers and special staff, parents, students, and community leaders. (See letter of instruction and copy of the questionnaire in Appendix 4.)

i) Principals--The questionnaires sent to principals covered several areas of school operation. They solicited information on the principal's background, the background of the student body, the school, extracurricular activities, and information on how active students were in such activities.

ii) Teachers and Special Staff--These questionnaires, rather than just being sent out, were administered by project staff using a structured questionnaire (see Appendix 4). All those questioned (25) had worked in black high schools. They were mainly questioned as to the extent that black high school students participated in such activities as band, choir, athletics, and any other extracurricular activities.

iii) Parents--Parents to whom questionnaires were administered (25) had all had children who attended black high schools at some time. We were mainly concerned here with what parents felt the role of the school had been in the community, but we also wanted to know how involved parents had been in such school-related organizations as the P.T.A., Boosters' Clubs, etc. (See Appendix 4 for a copy of the questionnaire).

iv) Students--As in the case of the teachers, questionnaires were administered by project staff (see Appendix 4). The students who participated (50) had attended all black high schools at least some of the time they had been in high school. The students provided information on the way they felt about their school and about the kinds of

relationships they had had with their teachers.

v) Community Leaders--Community Leaders (10) consisted of local ministers and elected officials, such as city council members (although in the year 1963-64 around which this study is focused none had actually held official positions, so that at that time these men were just those who had been respected within the community.) As with the parents, community leaders were questioned as to what they perceived to have been the role of the black high school in the community. (See Appendix 4 for a copy of the questionnaire.)

B) Interviews--Nothing quite makes up for person to person discussions in trying to capture the flavor of an experience. Questionnaires do not elicit answers to unasked questions and they rarely provide for elaboration of what might turn out to be complex questions. But the interviewer is free to follow up some chance mention of an event, and in forming, even if very brief, some sort of relationship with those being interviewed, he can often elicit much more complete explanations than any questionnaire can. We interviewed those who had been principals in black high schools and we interviewed superintendents whose administrative units included black high schools. Most interviews with the principal were taped and most lasted for an hour, although we also had some two hour sessions. Taped interviews were then transcribed in full and subjected to a simplified content analysis. Some interviews with superintendents were taped (and these, too, were transcribed in full), but most were not. The interviewer took notes and wrote up the interview as soon after the event as practicable.

i) Principals--The principals (20) were interviewed on how they ran their schools, on what sorts of duties were required of them by law, and what they actually had to do. This last point provided the

main theme of the interviews. They were also queried as to the role they themselves and their schools played in community life.

ii) Superintendents--We interviewed 20 superintendents mainly with an eye to putting the role of the black high school and the black high school principal in the perspective of the larger community. We were particularly interested in finding out whether superintendents knew what black principals were up to and whether or not they were aware of the roles, other than that required by law, that the black principal chose to play or was forced to play.

The Study

The study will be presented in several parts so as to provide a sense of order to specific data and to provide the conceptualization necessary to pull all the information together to present a picture of the black high school as a dynamic institution with a purpose, a heartbeat, people impact, and a myth of its own which contributed greatly to the positive development of black youth and their communities. The parts to which we refer are:

I. A Methodological Perspective for Understanding the Black High School in Relation to Community Development

II. A Historical Perspective for Understanding the Black High School in North Carolina in Relation to Community Development

III. Data Description of the Black High School in North Carolina in the 1963-64 Scholastic Year

IV. The Black High School

V. The Black High School Principal

VI. The Black High School: Ten Years Later--1973

VII. Inferences and Propositions That Warrant Further Consideration

It should be evident from each part that all are related but that each could stand alone as an individual and unique approach to viewing the black high school and its effects on the black community. The study's organization will dictate much of the pattern employed by the principal investigator to present a consistent and accurate picture of the black high school in American education.

Part I

A Methodological Perspective for Understanding the Black High School in Relation to Community Development

When one attempts to study the effects of a high school's program on the development of a given community he is immediately faced with a number of methodological choices. These methodological choices result in part from the central quality of the temporal aspects of behavior associated with the public area. In order to relate students' high school experiences to community development, the method of studying the problem must allow the investigator to describe the school setting as a total experience for individual students that can be judged as relating directly to their total experience involved in community development. Another way of expressing the notion is to suggest that the experiences of students in a significant learning and practice setting (the school) will predictibly influence the configuration of experiences in a different setting (the community). The methodological problem for the investigator is related to being able to document along a temporal axis the actual arrangement of learning and practice experienced by students in schools and other educational settings.

Given the nature of the problem of studying the relationship between the black high school and its community, it is necessary to view the student, the school, and the community as components of a complex interdependent system. This is particularly true in the case of black high schools in black communities in North Carolina. To study a high school setting as a total experience requires one to view it as a totally interrelated environment--an ecological system. The investigation of a school in terms of an ecological framework requires that observation and analysis of the behavior associated with those being studied be conducted without interference from outside the ecological system. It is our intent to shed as much light as possible on

the student's experiences in the black high school and how these experiences might have shaped the communities served in North Carolina. While we think it was not possible to utilize completely all of the procedures of an ecological investigation, we do think our efforts will demonstrate the validity of employing an ecological investigatory approach to the study of schools in community settings.

The ecological approach to the study of black high school in their communities is concerned with customary behavior by normal members in their natural setting. This means that the investigator has to go to the location where the data can be obtained. In addition all original data must be collected in the field because it is impossible to simulate the conditions to be studied in a laboratory. To complete this task requires the investigator to join the people whose environmental setting he wants to study. Since the investigator's role is that of a participant-observer, he must abstain from intentionally disrupting the subjects' routine. Only when the investigator returns to his own environmental setting can he begin to translate the environmental setting he studied in terms and concepts which will provide a clear understanding of this different way of life. Through it all we had to be guided by the notion that if we were to understand the structure and operation of the school, it would be necessary to analyze the hierarchical and collegial relations among the superintendent and principal, and principal and teacher as well as the impact of these relations on the student. We proceeded to approach the study in terms of this basic idea. We chose North Carolina because the principal investigator was born and raised there and attended black public schools there through undergraduate college. Consequently, he has many contacts in the state and has also established a working relationship with people in the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction.

How can one justify the assumption that student, school, and community are inextricably interrelated, particularly in the case of black high schools in North Carolina? First of all, one has to establish the kind of role which these high schools played. This is the reason for empirical studies such as these. Educational literature is presently filled with studies which set out to measure black students' performances against some standard of behavior or another and which conclude, if the results are different from the norm, that the difference is the result of some kind of social pathology, disorder at home, or unprofessional or unethical practices at school. These conclusions are not based on any observation of home life or community environment. We feel that to truly study the effects that school has on students, it is necessary to look at schools in that context which forms the child's most total environment, i.e., his community. If it is true that a child's performance and expectations in school are not determined solely by his school, and we believe they are not, then we can say that the school is not a closed system, not an isolated environment.

Schools are located in time and space, just as children are. If schools are not seen as systems complete in themselves, then they must be part of some other system. This system, insofar as black high schools in North Carolina are concerned, consists of the black community. This community can be defined as those people who in some way serve or are served by the school:

1) Those who are directly involved in the schools, (such as teachers, principals, and other school employees and students);
2) Those indirectly involved in the school (such as parents of students, younger siblings); and

3) Those even less directly involved in the school (those who attended the school and who still live in the area; those who never attended, but make use of its facilities or attend and/or support school activities, such as sports and other extracurricular activities).

Membership in a particular school community is limited really only by two factors: race and location. Any black in the area served by the black high school can be considered a member of that community. Some members merely play a more integral part in the community and in the school than others.

Location in Space:

Black high schools in North Carolina serve fairly small communities. Most (98%) are located in towns of less than 50,000 or in rural areas. Until recently, teaching and other official school positions were about the only high status white collar jobs open to blacks in the South. Other blacks in the community, aside from the few well-off small businessmen and farmer-owners, were tenant farmers or were employed as manual laborers and domestic help. Black high schools and those holding high positions within the school were usually at the apex of the social structure. This was particularly apparent in the smaller communities where the black high school might well be the largest and sometimes the only social and financial enterprise going. More blacks would work at the school than at any other single place. In these cases, it is obvious that the school had a central role in the functioning of the community. Even in larger cities, where there might be more than one black high school, the school played an important role both economically and in terms of status, for here, too, the school served to provide more white collar, higher paying jobs than anywhere else in the city or large town. Structurally, then, the black high school was extremely important in the black community.

Location in Time:

Schools are also located in time. To truly be able to examine the role that schools played at a particular time in a community, one must have some historical perspective. When black public schools were first established in North Carolina, in 1873 (and until 1907), there were no high schools. The school term was something less than four months, and "Three R's" were the main subject matter, school plants were tiny and understaffed. Few people felt that education was very important. But by the time that black high schools were beginning to be phased out of existence in North Carolina in the 1960's, schools were expected not only to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, but were also expected to teach vocational skills, reinforce social and moral values, and provide extracurricular activities.[1] The school year was nine months by that time and school plants were sizable, and, therefore, needed staffing by many people. Therefore, in studying the black high school in North Carolina we found it necessary, if we were to view it in its entirety, to study not only the school itself, but the school in relation to the community, since it formed so integral a part of its life.

The man who headed this important community structure, the principal, was the man who ran the school and indeed (in many/some cases), the black community. At the very least, his influence in community affairs was almost without exception great. Therefore he was in the middle of community life and might indeed know more about what was going on in the community than anyone else. Also because he was the head of the black high school, he had a role in the white power structure as well. This usually put him in the position of knowing more about the larger community than any other black in the

[1] Lowry Nelson, Charles E. Ramsey, and Coolie Verner, Community Structure and Change, the Macmillan Company, New York, 1960, p.344.

black community. He was often the only black with whom influential members of the white community had anything approaching professional contact. Therefore in attempting to give an accurate description of what the black high school was like and what roles it played, we found it essential to take a close look at the man who was so central to the functioning of the high school and the roles he played. And to truly understand his role in the high school, it is important to note that when we say that the high school played a major role in the functioning of the community and in its development this implies that the principal of the black high school therefore played a major role in the functioning and development of his community because of the importance of his role in the school.

Goals and Limitations

We hoped that in using the methods described in the last part of the chapter on "The Purpose of the Study" to avoid certain problems which have characterized educational research. A major problem has been what is known as the redundancy syndrome. Most educational studies have suffered from this because they have attempted to use student behavior as the basis for identifying and describing the total school environment missing the fact that students are not at all the only factor which enters into creating this environment. Therefore, their behavior cannot be seen as explaining their behavior, since this is obviously redundant and tautological. Many other factors besides students affect student school life and in doing this study we have attempted to identify and use as sources, those other factors which enter into and influence high school life.

There are serious limitations which can be associated with the study's goals and the nature of the available data. We have tried to describe the black high school in North Carolina as fully as possible and in doing so we have tried to indicate the role it played in community development in North

Carolina. We were limited by the fact that such schools no longer exist and we were also limited by the very nature of observing human institutions. No two schools can ever be exactly the same, since to start with they do not have the same people as students, staff, etc., nor are they located in the same exact place, temporally or spatially. We have not established a pure model of the black high school and its role in community development in North Carolina because it is simply impossible to control all the variables to the point where we can say this is a totally accurate, objective description. The best we can do is to attempt to give the most accurate picture possible.

To achieve this we have provided a demographic display of the black high school over a period of time, making it possible to describe some of the factors that shaped the structure and operation of the black high school. Once a reasonable description of the structure and operation of the black high school is available through the use of demographic data, it is possible to derive at least a partial picture of the total environment of the black high school as it existed. Demographic data can reveal information on people in defined settings during a given time frame. That is, demographic data can be thought of as a running record of human activity specified in time and place. This is one part of our study. The other part attempts to utilize information gained from students, staff, parents, and other citizens to provide the qualitative aspect of the black high school and what made it unique.

Even though our efforts in trying to outline a methodology for understanding the black high school in relation to community development is somewhat incomplete, we think we have made a meaningful beginning that will add immeasurably to understanding the data we have collected. To the extent that this proves to be the case, we have achieved, at least in part, our real objective--improving the delivery of educational services to those served by the schools.

Part II

A Historical Perspective for Understanding the Black High School in North Carolina in Relation to Community Development

The education of youth has been a lively political concern in the state of North Carolina. Public support of common schools for white youth in North Carolina has been a continuing political issue since the end of the American Revolution. The Revolution created an intense hatred of any form of "taxation without representation" and Noble indicates that North Carolinians

> ...emerged from the long years of that war (American Revolutionary) War) victorious and more determined than ever to resist taxation in any form, and for any purpose whatever, if it could be avoided in any way. And so it was that, when the public mind turned seriously and anxiously to the task of creating a fund that would yield annually enough revenue to place an elementary school within easy reach of every white child in the state, the great object with our lawmakers was how to accomplish this result without having to resort to laying a public school tax,[1]

Given this general climate against any form of taxation, it is easy to see why the notion of public schooling had a long uphill climb to reality in North Carolina. Fortunately, for the advocates of public schooling, internal improvement had been actively promoted by every North Carolina governor. This situation is recounted in the following statement:

> The subject of internal improvements has always been a popular one in North Carolina, and it is a fact that education and internal improvements were advocated with equal force and favor in practically every governor's message sent to the legislature during the nineteenth century prior to the Civil War. The same liberal spirit of expansion and growth that promoted and championed the one, promoted and championed the other.[2]

The development of the state's resources and the strengthening of the public schools still remains a strong commitment and political force in North Carolina.

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[1] Noble, Marcus C.S., A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1930, p.43.

[2] Ibid.

Sometime around 1823 the North Carolina legislature in an attempt to devise a means for creating a public school fund without resorting to taxation passed a bill authorizing the state treasurer to issue treasury notes. Some state officials and citizens felt that the proceeds of the notes could be used as the foundation of a permanent school fund that would provide the financial support required for initiating common schools throughout the state. Even though this attempt and related legal moves failed to win public or legislative approval, the seeds were sown and support for public schools showed strong and hardy growth from that period onward. After many hard battles, the first law providing financial support for public schools in North Carolina was passed on December 22, 1825. According to one source,

> ...Charles A. Hill, a member of one committee on education in the Senate, reported a bill to create a fund for the support of common schools. It was called "An Act to Create a Fund for the Establishment of Common Schools," and on January 4, 1826, it passed the Senate and became law. It is generally called "The Literary Fund Law of 1825."[3]

Even though "The Literary Fund Law of 1825" referred to providing public support for the education of white children, the operational specifications of that law formed the basis for the first conflict over how black children in North Carolina would be covered by such funding of public schools and ultimately how they would be educated in them.

At this time (1825) the involvement of blacks in the public education issue in North Carolina was indirect at best. Ironically, federal policy initiated the political conflict within the state of North Carolina that first raised the issues surrounding black involvement in public education. This politically touchy situation was created by an act of the U.S. Congress

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[3] Noble, Ibid. p.46.

which gave general support to states providing public education. The particulars of the Congressional decision can be gleaned from the following statements:

> In 1836 an Act of Congress directed that the surplus remaining in the Treasury of the United States on January 1, 1837, should be deposited with such of the states in proportion to their representation in the Senate and the House of Representatives, as would comply with the terms specified in the Act. The terms were such as to make the amount deposited with the state merely a loan to be returned when called for by the general government. The amount thus received by North Carolina was $1,433,757.39.[4]

Once received by North Carolina these federal funds for public schools were to be distributed by the Literary Fund. It appears that the combination of "receiving funds in proportion to congressional representation" and "distribution of these funds to local areas via a state agency" proved to be the mix that set the stage for the drama which still rages around the public education of black and white children in the public schools in North Carolina and in the nation as a whole.

The seeds of conflict surrounding the issue of public education of black children had been sown, but the first confrontation awaited the passage of a resolution offered in the State Senate by Alfred Dockery on December 6, 1838,

> ....instructing the committee on education to inquire into the expediency of distributing the income from the Literary Fund among the counties of the state, in proportion to their federal population, for the purpose of educating the children of the indigent poor.[5]

This resolution was later expanded in a proposal by H.G. Spruill, Senator from Washington and Tyrrel counties, when "he struck at the question of common schools from the broad and statesmanlike viewpoint of public education for all children at public expense with no reference whatever to either the

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[4] Noble, Ibid. p.49.

[5] Noble, Ibid. p.54.

rich or the poor."[6] Senator Spruill's resolution changed the conception of public school education in North Carolina with the inclusion of the phrase "all children". One other farreaching aspect of Senator Spruill's resolution was an additional requirement suggesting the passage of a law that would send some sort of teacher into about 1,250 schools, no one of which would be more than four miles from the center of the district. That law ultimately provided the foundation for the structure of public schools providing elementary education in North Carolina to this day. The present school system in North Carolina owes its beginnings to the forceful ideas expressed by Senator Spruill but shared by many.

The first free common school law was enacted in North Carolina in January 1839. This law was entitled, "An Act to Divide the Counties of the State into School Districts and for Other Purposes," and established the system of public instruction that helped to pave the way for building a statewide structure for the education of North Carolina's youth. The act authorizing public instruction gained teeth and strength when a school tax bill was passed during the same year on August 8, 1839. It is noteworthy that the people of North Carolina, who hated any form of taxation with a passion, voted to provide "free countywide common schools at public expense" the first time they were given the opportunity. This was truly a remarkable event given the time and immediate past history. One statement by Noble captures the sense of this historic hour when he commented:

> It was a straightforward clear-cut declaration of the people that they would not permit their hatred of taxation to make them cast their votes to the hurt of their children. It was the first time that the sense of the people of the state was taken on a question that struck directly at the personal interests of their homes and firesides, and

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[6] Noble, Ibid. p.54.

> the people were equal to the test. The school tax carried in nearly every county in the state.[7]

This concern for the interests of children in North Carolina has prevailed and influenced the direction and advancement of public schools for the public good.

One of the points regarding the common schools that profoundly affected the legislature, and as a consequence, the political process, dealt with the method to be used to distribute state funds to local schools.[8] In 1836 when the Federal Treasury was authorized to distribute funds for the support of local educational efforts on the basis of state representation in Congress, North Carolina showed a white population of 484,870 and a black population of 268,549. The total state population was 753,419. Given this situation, the state of North Carolina, on the basis of its total population, was to receive money from the Federal Treasury in part based on the number of black slaves "not one of whom would ever have one cent of public money spent on him for any kind of education."[9] However the issues and principles brought into being by the existence of the federal act of 1836 probably contributed greatly to the 1954 decision by the Supreme Court to provide "equal education to all children" regardless of race, creed, or color. The stage was set by this Congressional decision to provide financial support for local educational efforts.

The public schools in North Carolina experienced a steady growth in size and influence during their early existence. By 1857, there were 3,500

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[7] Noble, Ibid. p.68.

[8] The method of distribution caused great conflict between counties with widely varying black populations. During each session of the stage legislature from 1836 through 1851 efforts to change the method of distributing funds according to federal population were mounted with great resolve but the opponents were always unsuccessful.

[9] Noble, Ibid. p.71

school districts with at least one schoolhouse in each district. The combined school districts enrolled 150,000 of the 220,000 children of school age in the state. There were around 11,000 children enrolled in colleges, academies and private schools. Some 27,000 children of school age had completed their common school education, and 2,000 more were being taught either at home or in Sunday School. By 1857, there were 2,256 teachers who had been issued teaching certificates. Two-hundred fourteen of these certificates were issued to females. From these meager statistics it is evident that the public school system in North Carolina had made great strides during the eighteen short years it had been in existence. There is little doubting one fact: public schools were very popular and much appreciated during North Carolina's formative years.

Another point of interest is how teachers' salaries in North Carolina compared with those in the six leading common school states in 1858. Noble reports that the average monthly teacher salaries were as follows:

Massachusetts.....$34.75
North Carolina.....28.00
Illinois.....24.57
Wisconsin.....20.97
Ohio.....20.45
New Hampshire.....19.72[10]

It is evident that North Carolina placed a great emphasis early in obtaining and attracting good teachers. They were willing to pay some of the highest salaries available to members of that profession in any state. In addition, North Carolina paid their female teachers almost as much as their male counterparts. This was not the practice in most places. It seems that the general attitude of the people and the support they gave to the public schools helped to build the present foundation that influences the direction and development of schooling in North Carolina even today.

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[10] Noble, Ibid. p. 223.

Factors Influencing the Early Education of Blacks in North Carolina

The earliest date that plans for the public education of black children appear to have been officially initiated was October 2, 1865 when the Constitutional Convention met in Raleigh. On the same day there was a meeting of prominent black men who drafted a statement to be presented to the Convention while in session as a preparatory step for its presentation to the state legislature, which was slated to assemble in November of the same year. In this statement, these black men requested the passage of laws that would prove helpful in dealing effectively with their new freedom and in providing the education their children would require to participate fully as citizens in the functioning of the state. The statement formulated by these black men was presented to the convention which adopted a resolution directing Governor Holden to appoint a three-man commission to study the situation. This commission made its report to the state legislature on January 22, 1866. The provisions of their report were as follows:

> It declared "persons of color to be citizens of the state" and that they ought to have conferred upon them "all privileges of white persons in conducting their suits, and the mode of trial by jury." It urged the legitimization of colored children born during the days of slavery, took ground for the repeal of laws that had been enacted from time to time in order to make certain distinctions between whites and colored persons," and in a very comprehensive manner presented and discussed much legislation deemed by them to be necessary to give freed men equal rights as citizens with white persons before the law. Of special note is the fact that the report recommended that a colored apprentice be placed "on the same footing with a white one."[11]

This statement of the equality of the races before the law reflects public willingness immediately following the Civil War to support fair treatment of the freedman. This trend in public opinion could have led to the provision of equal education for black children which would have enabled them to qualify

[11] Noble, Ibid. p.272.

for active participation as citizens of the state. However, many factors combined causing this to fail to materialize as a reality.

The Civil War had completely depleted the resources that were used by the state to support public schools for white children. The destruction that accompanied the Civil War left citizens of the state of North Carolina with little capacity to reopen even these schools. Coupled with this was the fact that for the first time:

> The white people were confronted with the thought of the possibility and probability of having to provide for the education of thousands of colored children recently set free from the bonds of slavery. Tradition, belief that the Negro was incapable of being educated, and the recollection of the fact that up to within a very few months before, it was a misdemeanor to teach him to read--all these facts stood in the way of many white leaders being willing to provide common school instruction for the children of ex-slaves.[12]

The above statement represents the attitudes held and expressed by most whites of the immediate post-Civil War period even though there was recognition that citizenship rights had to be granted to blacks and allowed to be exercised. This conflict, rooted in this period in our history, still exists today (though to a lesser extent) and operates to shape policy regarding the use of public funds in the education of black children.

It is important to note that the law governing the obligation to white orphans that was to be fulfilled by the employer or the local community, provided the basic foundation for a law governing the education of some black children. This law read as follows:

> The destitute white orphan boy or girl, under the mandate of the law had to be taught to read and write and also taught a trade, and, finally, the conscience of a Christian state assumed, in the School Law of 1838-39, the additional obligation to provide for the teaching of <u>all</u> white boys and girls, rich or poor, at least the rudiments of an "English education" [13]

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[12] Noble, <u>Ibid</u>. p.273.

[13] <u>Ibid</u>.

This law is a basic expression of fair treatment and positive help for those who could not act independently to cope with their unfortunate situation and could not contribute without some aid to the social functioning of their community and the state. Many local practices and procedures evolved in trying to implement this law for the white children of the state until it was stated in a more specific and explicit form in the Code of 1854. That Code indicated the following:

> The master or mistress shall provide for the apprentice diet, clothes, lodging, and accomodations fit and necessary; and such as are white, shall teach or cause to be taught to read and write, and the elementary rules of arithmetic; and at the expiration of every apprenticeship, shall pay to each apprentice, six dollars, and furnish him a new suit of clothes and a new Bible.[14]

During the legislative session of 1865-66, at the suggestion of the commission appointed by Governor Holden, a law was passed to strike out the phrase, "such as are white." Not only was this the first piece of educational legislation passed after the Civil War, it legally equalized treatment of the black apprentice with that of the white.

It is important to note that the law allowing the education of the black apprentice was passed by members of the legislature who had been leaders prior to the Civil War. In that sense, long-term white political leaders from the state of North Carolina voluntarily initiated the means for educating black youth in the state. The act striking out the white clause in the Code of 1854 was ratified March 10, 1866. According to Noble there was much evidence that whites in various parts of the state followed the spirit and letter of the act ratified in 1866 regarding the education of blacks bound to them. Even though this might have been the case in general,

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[14] Noble, Ibid. p.274.

it was still a long way from providing public school education for all black children in the state who would avail themselves of the opportunity.

The legislation ratified in 1866 governing the education of black children gives the impression that the white citizens of North Carolina not only readily participated in providing the legal basis for the public education of black youth but that they dutifully followed that law to the letter in their actions. There is little reason to believe that this was the case, since the subsequent development of a system for the education of black youth took a wholly different turn in later years. However, if we adhere to the conclusions of one historian writing about the period, the initial attempts to devise meaningful education for the black youth of North Carolina could be characterized in the following manner:

> And if history repeats itself, it is reasonable to believe that a person who for generations had fought illiteracy as a menace to good citizenship, would have soon moved from the compulsory education of the destitute colored apprentices to the free public education of all colored children in colored public schools, especially since those children on reaching their majority were to become voting citizens at the polls in every election. Hence the first step towards Negro education was taken by North Carolinians themselves in the legislature of 1865-66, when the education of indigent colored orphans was provided for, and if the people of the state had been left to work out the problem of Negro education by themselves, it would have been solved and solved the right way, though possibly it would have been solved slowly. But when solved, it would have been solved from within rather than from without in a clumsy harmful manner by strangers who knew nothing of the proper method of achieving the best permanent results in a Southern state.[15]

On the surface, Noble concludes that the problem of the public education of black youth would have been solved by white Southern leaders had they been left alone to pursue the course outlined in the legislation passed in 1866. However what Noble considered a "solution" to the problem is in his own words

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[15] Noble, Ibid. p.275.

"free public education of all colored children in colored public schools," implying that he gave little thought to the solution of the problem by permitting black children to attend existing public schools with white children. Since there was little money left after the Civil War for the public education of white children, it was unrealistic indeed to conclude that the white citizens of North Carolina were ready to build and operate public schools for black children during that period. Given those factors, providing public education for black children at public expense immediately following the Civil War might have been only an outside possibility if the children had been permitted to attend existing public schools instead of the near improbability it was, dependent on the establishment of new schools for black children. This should prove to be an important consideration as we continue to trace the early decisions which shaped the foundations of the public school system which was to serve black children.

The Beginnings of the Dual School System in North Carolina

From the beginning there was a real reluctance to educate black and white youth in the same physical facility. It appears that both black and white natives of North Carolina generally opposed any attempt to provide public education for black and white children in the same school building. Even though there were those who advocated "integrated" education, there was no serious attempt to achieve that political reality immediately following the Civil War. If, in fact, black and white citizens were generally opposed to their children attending the same school, then why should this have become an issue that required the establishment of a dual school system by law rather than by practice as was the case in Northern states immediately after the Civil War? It appears that the fight over the issue of integrated common school education in local areas arose as a result of the efforts of conservative white lawmakers to pass amendments to keep separate and distinct the public education of white and black races by constitutional provision. For very good reasons more farsighted black and white lawmakers felt that it would be a mistake to write into the Constitution race distinctions that would become "organic law" insuring poor services for black youth and which over the long haul would be harmful to the total development and prosperity of the state.

On the surface it appears that conservative whites were most concerned with fostering "social equality" in segregated schools. And therefore a legal provision in the constitution would specify the status of both groups regarding public education in their respective schools. One of the most effective spokesmen against this view was J.W. Hood, the black legislator from Cumberland County, who asserted the following:

> In the state of Pennsylvania there is no law to my knowledge, certainly nothing in the organic law which prevents any man from sending his children to any school in his district, and yet there is no town in that state where there is any considerable number of colored children in which there are not separate schools. For prudential reasons girls and boys are sent to separate schools. The Catholics in Philadelphia demanded and were granted separate schools. This is done by mutual consent. There will undoubtedly be separate schools in this state wherever it is possible, because both parties will demand it. My experience has been that the colored people in this state generally prefer colored preachers, when other things are equal, and I think the same will be found to be true respecting teachers. As the whites are in the majority in this state, the only way we can hope to have colored teachers is to have separate schools. And with all due respect to the noble self-sacrificing devotion that white teachers from the North have shown to the cause of the ignorant and despised colored people in the South--without detracting one iota from the amount of gratitude we owe them for that genuine philanthropy which has enabled them to bear up amid the contempt and ostracism that has been heaped upon them--I must be permitted to say that it is impossible for white teachers, educated as they necessarily are in this country, to enter into the feelings of colored pupils as the colored teacher does.[16]

It is clear from Hood's statement that there was little, if any, reason to be concerned about black children attending or wanting to attend schools with whites that would have warranted having it prohibited by the Constitution. Politically, not having it in writing would seem to have provided the greatest protection for black citizens' legal right to public education. At the same time individual localities would have been free to make arrangements conforming to the social practices of the area in question.

It was also evident from Hood's remarks that he was concerned both about the informal and formal aspects of black children's schooling. He did not believe that white teachers could or would provide adequate positive psychological support to make black children feel worthy and competent as human beings. His statement was the first official notice recognizing that the interests of black children might be better served by black teachers teaching in schools set up for blacks. It was Hood's contention that the idea of white

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[16] Noble, Ibid. p.290-1.

superiority was too firmly implanted in white teachers to keep them from revealing it to black children through daily contact in class. Hood's thinking on the matter is summarized in the following comments:

> I do not believe that it is good for our children to eat and drink daily the sentiment that they are naturally inferior to the whites, which they do in three-fourths of all the schools where they have white teachers. There are numbers of colored people who really think that they are naturally inferior to white people. Nothing tries me more than to hear a black man make this admission; and yet they cannot be expected to do otherwise, when they learn it as they learn their letters, and it grows with their growth and strengthens with their strength. Taking this view of the case, I shall always do what I can to have colored teachers for colored schools. This will necessitate separate schools as a matter of course, wherever it is possible, not by written law, but by mutual consent and the law of interest. For this very reason I am opposed to putting it in the organic law. Make this distinction in your organic law and in many places the white children will have good schools at the expense of the whole people, while the colored people will have none or but little worse than none. If the schools are to be free to all, the colored children will be insured good schools in order to keep them out of white schools. This is all we ask, this we expect to contend for. I have expressed my objection time and again to the words white and black being put ip this constitution.[17]

It is evident that even from the time the first plans were laid out for the public education of black children many black spokesmen had no desire for their children to be educated with and by whites. However, they were opposed to giving separate education legal sanction in the state Constitution. This issue proved to be one that would endure and plague parties of both persuasions until the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

Even though black lawmakers and some of their white supporters were violently opposed to making blackness and whiteness the basis for a Constitutional amendment providing for separate public education to the state's children, they finally agreed to a compromise as many of their white supporters began to waiver. In order to move the legislation forward, W.J.T. Hayes,

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[17] Noble, Ibid. p.291

a black legislator from Halifax County, offered the following resolution, which was adopted on March 16, 1868:

> Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention that intermarriages and illegal intercourse between the races should be discountenanced, and the interests and happiness of the two races would be best promoted by the establishment of separate schools.[18]

This proved to be the first crack in the front holding out against legally mandating separate schools for black and white youth. Even though the resolution paved the way for a dual school system, it was a true compromise in that black people won control of their schools and white people did not have to attend school with blacks. This situation led Noble to conclude the following:

> So far as separate schools for the races were concerned, this resolution was merely an expression of opinion as to the best way of promoting the interests and happiness of the two races, and was not regarded by the Conservatives as an answer to their contention that, under the proposed constitution, mixed schools were not only not prohibited but actually authorized.[19]

Even though the legislature had acted to bring free public school education to black children in North Carolina, there were many obstacles not the least of which the general poverty that was so evident immediately after the Civil War. For the most part there was a general objection among most whites to the education of blacks at public or even the blacks' own expense. In addition, there were never enough teachers to teach black children and what teachers there were often faced the problem of a general lack of facilities for holding classes. On many occasions white teachers who agreed to teach black children were harassed and ostracised by other members of the white community. This was to be the case until an adequate number of black teachers were available to meet the demand.

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[18] Noble, Ibid. p.

[19] Noble, Ibid. p.297.

The native white in North Carolina had mixed feelings about the white teacher's role in educating black children. In addition to their general opposition to the education of blacks, native whites resented the presence of Northern white teachers, who were the largest single group of teachers working with black children, because they were outsiders. They were thought of as intruders interfering with North Carolina's internal political and social affairs. The comments made by Noble are typical of the attitudes expressed and acted upon by native whites in North Carolina toward the end of the 1860's:

> The stranger politicians apparently handled the question of educating the Negro for present political results at the polls rather than for the permanent good of the colored man. The good people in the North too often failed to select discreet persons to administer their generous contributions for the uplift of the freedmen. Many of the northern teachers who were sent into the state came here apparently on the lookout for ostracism as the penalty of their jobs and doggedly seeking it as an evidence of success in their mission, and often purposely stigmatizing their work in the eyes of the native whites by mingling socially with pupils and parents. Of course this does not apply to all who came from the North to establish Negro schools. Many of them were faithful, earnest, and successful teachers who at all times retained their own self-respect and won the good-will and support of the resident white people, as they daily spent their strength in teaching colored children and in training them for useful lives in the state. However, all these unfortunate phases of Negro education were hurting the cause of the colored children, which sooner or later would be taken up by the state when it came into the management of white leaders.[20]

It was Noble's judgment that the education of black youth would best be served when it was under the management of native whites who had the best interests of blacks at heart. However, all evidence up to that time did not support his contention.

The legal establishment of black schools appears to have had its beginnings when a resolution was proposed by the chairman of the committee on education, Jacob W. Bowman, and passed by the house. The resolution was to

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[20] Noble, Ibid. p.309.

provide "for the establishment of different public schools for the white and colored races." The vote for passage was 91 to 2 with the two black members casting the negative votes. It did not take long for former white supporters to bow to the will of a small minority of conservatives. This was the forerunner of a long series of events that led to the complete separation of public schools for blacks and whites--the dual school system.

As far as I can determine, North Carolina was the first state to appoint a black as the Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction on September 23, 1868. The person chosen to fill this post was J.W. Hood, the legislator from Cumberland County who had been so concerned all along with providing black children with good education. Noble describes his role thus:

> This new officer's official duty was the general supervision of the public school interests of the colored children. The office was a creation of the Board of Education and was thought to have been created to satisfy the views of Hood as to the duty of the state to entrust the education of colored children to colored people. He was given, therefore, the specific duty of supervising the public schools of the colored race. Before these schools were established, he devoted his time to visiting and inspecting the colored schools which had been established or aided by the Freedmen's Bureau and the several benevolent organizations which were interested in the education of colored children. His report to Ashley is of historical value because it gives the reader a pretty accurate account of what was being done for North Carolina colored children by their friends just after the war while there were no public schools in operation. At the date of his report, April 22, 1869, the various agencies, not including the Freedmen's Bureau, were maintaining, in whole or in part, 152 schools with 224 teachers, and an enrollment of 11,826 pupils. Hood urged the need of one or more normal schools for the training of colored teachers. Remembering his speech in the constitutional convention on the separation of the races in the schools, it was but natural for him to say with evident reluctance, that "as there appears to be an objection amounting to a prohibition of the use of the unoccupied buildings at Chapel Hill by colored pupils" perhaps the best that can be done is to establish several normal schools in the state at places having "the largest number of good material." [21]

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[21] Noble, Ibid. p. 324.

It is evident that there was a serious commitment at the state level to establishing a sound public school system for black children. Unfortunately, efforts at that level were always subject to the actions of local communities. This may explain in part why black public schools developed the way they did from their beginning to the present.

During the formative years of the black school system in North Carolina, the Republican party with the support of black citizens controlled state politics. Publicly supported black schools had their birth under this administration in the 1873-74 school year less than 10 years after the end of the Civil War. During their political lifetime the Republicans with the aid of black support laid the groundwork for the North Carolina public school system in general and the black school system in particular. It is appropriate to end this section with a summary of the education statistics that were compiled by State Superintendent McIver during the year ending June 30, 1874:

Summary of Statistics
(From Report Year 1874)

The entire sum of public school funds received by the several county treasurers in the state for the year ending June 30, 1874, according to estimate, was,

From the State Treasurer	$ 36,230.67
Capitation tax	148,609.92
Property tax	109,434.94
Balance on hand June 30,1873	202,129.70
Total	$496,405.23

The following were the disbursements of school money from June 30,1873, to June 30,1874, by estimate:

To the teachers of white schools	$182,646.53
To the teachers of colored schools	77,615.25
For school houses	22,767.46
Paid to County Examiners	2,854.55
County Treasurers' Commissions	11,802.06
Total	$297,594.85

Balance remaining in the hands of County Treasurers June 30,1874	$198,810.38

Number of children in the state between the ages of six and twenty-one years according to the school census of 1874:

White Children

Number of males	124,496
Females	118,272
Total	242,768

Colored Children

Number of males	65,252
Females	61,940
Total	127,192
Grand Total	369,960

Number of public schools taught in the state at any time during the year ending June 30,1874, and the number of children in attendance:

Number of Schools

White	2,820
Colored	1,200
Total	4,020

Number of Children in School

White males	64,839
White females	54,244
Total	119,083
Colored males	27,677
Colored females	28,323
Total	55,000
Grand Total	174,083

The following is the number of teachers examined and approved in the year ending June 30, 1874.

White

Male	1,495
Female	613
Total	2,108

Colored

Male	515
Female	252
Total	767
Grand Total	2,875 [22]

[22] Noble, Ibid., pp. 369-370.

There was little questioning the fact that blacks had made phenomenal progress immediately following the Civil War. In 1836, the black population in North Carolina was approximately 36% of the total population. At that time and until 1864 there were no black children being educated in public schools. In fact during that period it was a misdemeanor to teach black children to read. Even though public schools for blacks were only established in 1873, in the same year approximately 30% of salaries paid to teachers were paid to black teachers, 34% of the children in the state between the ages of six and twenty-one years were black, 32% of the school children were black, 27% of the examined and approved teachers were black, and 30% of all schools were attended by black students. On a quantitative basis blacks were almost receiving public school education in proportion to the number of black students available for schooling.

As for wages, the average salaries paid to black teachers, especially black males, in the period 1886-1903 compared fairly well with those paid to white teachers considering the few unskilled positions open to blacks at the time. The table below illustrates this:

Average Monthly Salary for Teachers in North Carolina, 1886-1902 [23]

White Male	Black Male	% Diff.	White Female	Black Female	% Diff.	% Diff. Bl. M, Wh. F.
$25.72	$23.05	10.4%	$23.23	$20.12	13.4%	0.8%

In 1896 black male teachers made significantly more than their white counterparts, male or female: $1.95 more than white males and $5.06 more than white females. The salaries of black male teachers during this period exceeded those

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23 Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the Scholastic Years 1900-1901 and 1901-1902, J.Y. Joyner, Superintendent Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina, Edwards and Broughton, State Printers, 1902, pp.339-340.

of white females in five separate years. Black female teachers, however, were consistently paid less than any other group.

When looking at these figures, it is well to keep in mind that, except for farm workers, no other group of regularly employed persons made less money than teachers.[24] However, since blacks had little choice in type of employment, with most jobs simply closed to them on the basis of race and what others were available drastically underpaying, teaching offered not only in comparison something approaching a living wage, but high status in the black community as well.

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[24] Series D603-617 "Average Annual Earnings in all Industries and in Selected Industries and Occupations," Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1960, 0.91.

The Twentieth Century: Public High Schools and Integration

As the 19th century drew to a close, the white supremacist movement gathered steam so that while Charles B. Aycock claimed that "universal" education meant education for all, black and white, others went to work to ensure that "all" meant all whites. In the same election (1900) which brought the Democrats back into power and which elected Aycock, a proponent of universal education, governor, an amendment was passed which essentially disfranchised the blacks. The constitutional amendment specified that all voters must be able to read and write. A grandfather clause was included to allay the fears of those counties where white illiteracy was high, stating that until 1908 any adult white illiterate would be permanently registered to vote because his grandfather had voted in 1866, before blacks had gained the vote. The North Carolina Supreme Court ruled in 1902 that black children were entitled to the same per capita share of school funds as whites, but in 1905 it ruled that only "equal facilities must be provided"[25] and it defined equal facilities in 1906:

> "The school term shall be of the same length during the school year, and that a sufficient number of teachers competent to teach the children in each building or section, shall be employed at such prices as the board may deem proper."[26]

And the boards saw fit to pay black teachers an average salary over 30% less than whites,[27] about a 20% drop in comparison to salaries in the 1890's. Actual facilities provided for black school children also deteriorated at this time.

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[25] Louis R. Harlan, Separate and Unequal, Atheneum, New York, 1968, p.105

[26] Ibid.

[27] 1635-1935 Three Hundred Years of American High Schools, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1935 p.14.

It is against this backdrop that rural public high schools first came into being in North Carolina. Before 1907 there were three types of high schools in the state: private high schools, subscription schools, and large town and city high schools. The first two types required students to pay and the third type, available only to those students whose families lived in urban areas could serve only a minority of students in such a highly rural state.

The General Assembly, recognizing the need for high school instruction in rural areas and small towns, passed the 1907 High School Law which established a fund to stimulate high school instruction in towns of less than 1,200 and in rural areas.[28] Needless to say most of the money went to establishing white rural high schools. By 1915 the expenditures for the white child were 300% more than for the black (in 1990 they had been a mere 50% more).[29] In 1914 the first three public black high schools were opened and in 1919 the first black high schools were accredited (four public, seven private). In 1923 the first high schools supported and run by city or county school administrative units received accreditation. In 1923-24, all of ten years after the first black public high schools were opened, there were 14 public and 20 private accredited black high schools. These accredited schools served 87% of the black students enrolled in high school at the time. Ten years later, 1933-34, there were 106 public and 10 private accredited black high schools serving almost 98% of blacks enrolled in high school.[30]

These figures do not reflect, of course, the number of children who never even got to high school. Among whites it was estimated in 1924 that

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28 Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1924, p.29.

29 Separate and Unequal, p.131.

30 1635-1935 Three Hundred Years of American High Schools, pp.26-28.

there were more than 50,000 rural children who ought to have been in high school but were not. In that year there were only 332 standard accredited high schools in the state and more than 30 counties had no such standard high school. In the Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction it is stated that there were a total of more than 600 high schools in the state. This would include black and white public and private accredited and non-accredited schools.[31] Of the 332 accredited public high schools only 14 or 4.2% were black.[32] The approximately 50,000 white rural children who were not receiving high school instruction represented over 40% of high school age white children.[33] Blacks who attended public high school represented 4.6% of the total enrollment[34] of students in such high schools. We have found no estimates of how many black children of high school age were not receiving high school instruction, but it must have been extremely high in this period.

During the 1920's, along with the growth in numbers of black high schools, blacks once again gained some control, at the state level, over their education. No black had been in such a position since J.W. Hood was appointed Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1868. In 1921 the North Carolina General Assembly authorized the establishment of a Division of Negro Education in the State Department of Public Instruction.[35] This division was to have a director and such supervisors and assistants as were necessary to complete its designated assignment. Its specific duties were

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31 Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, p.32.

32 1635-1935 Three Hundred Years of American High Schools, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1935 p.26.

33 Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, p.31.

34 Ibid. p.42.

35 Public Education in North Carolina, General Education Board, 61 Broadway, New York, 1921, p.ix.

to monitor all the black normal, training, elementary, and high schools and teacher training departments.

By 1933-34, even with 106 public black high schools in operation, in 71 counties with black school populations of 1,000 or more, there were 17 county and five city administrative units with no black high schools and an additional 13 county and four city administrative units which did not support their accredited black high schools. Thirty-three of these counties, with a total of 48 accredited black high schools, had facilities which were inadequate for both the size and population of the county. Of the remaining 29 counties, with black school populations of less than 1,000, 16 had no high school facilities for blacks, six counties provided less than four years of high school instruction; only four counties had an accredited four year black high school, and one county had a four year unaccredited high school.[36] These figures come from a study made by a commission appointed by Governor J.C.B. Ehringhaus. Half the members of the commission were black. The report of the commission which was published at the request of the Governor, recommended the following:

1) That small schools be consolidated into modern school plants and that adequate transportation be provided;

2) Needed rooms be added to existing schools and schools built where there were none or where they were inadequate;

3) Black teachers be able to receive adequate teacher training at the post-high school level;

4) That black schools operate for a term of not less than eight months;

5) That the black high school curriculum include vocational training and that black teachers receive training in the area of guidance;

36 1635-1935 Three Hundred Years of American High Schools, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1935 pp.37-39.

6) That black teachers receive "equal pay for equal training and equal service"[37] and that the differential between black teachers' salaries and those of white teachers be reduced by 50% in 1935 and eliminated totally within three to five years after that.

A major impetus to providing public high school education for both blacks and whites during the 1930's was almost certainly linked to the economic conditions at that time. With the high rate of adult unemployment the last thing the state wanted was an additional influx of adolescents each year on the job market. Parents also became aware that the better trained worker had a better chance of being employed than the untrained worker.[38]

Although equalizing the salaries of black and white teachers was one of the major recommendations of the governor's commission it was not until almost ten years later, 1944, that the General Assembly voluntarily passed a law requiring that the salaries be equalized. This made North Carolina the first among the Southern states to take such action. The educational level of black teachers which in 1924-25 (there were then no colleges which black teachers could attend to train for the "A" (standard) certificate) stood at about four years of high school, in 1933-34 averaged about two years of college (for whites the figures were a year and a half and three and three quarter years of college).[39] As the country became involved in World War II, white teachers found many more profitable jobs in areas other than teaching. This did not hold true for black teachers. As a result of this, white teachers left their professions in great numbers and by 1948 there were 60

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[37] 1635-1935 Three Hundred Years of American High Schools, pp.37-39.

[38] Ibid. p.25.

[39] Ibid. p.43.

times more nonstandard certificate holders among white teachers than in 1937.[40]

Thus by 1947-48 the quality of teacher training and preparation for blacks and whites was reversed from what it had been in 1924-25. In fact, in 1941-48 the number of white teachers teaching on non-standard certificates rose from 1,022 to 2,909, an increase of 1,887, while the number of black teachers holding "A" (standard) certificates went from 5,806 to 6,240, an increase of 434.[41] Whatever the reason for this shift, it still remains that black children certainly benefited. The general feeling about this shift in quality was that "disaster threatens the white schools."[42] But if the quality of teaching was a bright spot in black education all was not rosy in the black schools. In the 1948 Report of the State Education Commission it is stated:

> "The Negro schools deserve special consideration. Generally speaking, they are in much worse condition than the white schools. In 1945 over 60 percent of the Negro high school children of the state were enrolled in schools below the standard required for accreditment. Of the 201 Negro high schools, 96 employed from one to three teachers. Children attending these schools cannot receive credits required for entrance to college."[43]

Two court decisions in the late '30's and many decisions throughout the '40's began to undermine the "separate but equal" policies at the graduate and professional school level. In what must have been an effort to prevent further challenge to the doctrine of "separate but equal" the entire South began to spend an unprecedented proportion of its income for the education

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40 Education in North Carolina Today and Tomorrow: Report of the State Education Commission, Edwards & Broughton Co., Raleigh, North Carolina, 1948, p.251.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid. p.252.

43 Ibid. p.249-50.

of Negro children in public schools."[44] By the early 1950's North Carolina was spending significantly more per pupil on black children than it had in 1940. In 1940 $41.69 was spent per white child and $27.30 per black child. The amount spent on each black child was 65% of that spent on each white child. By the 1950-51 school year $152.20 was spent per white child and $128.67 per black child. This last figure was 85% of the amount spent on each white child.[45] In this ten year period North Carolina increased by 20% the comparative amounts it spent on each of its black school children.

Continuing the trend which had begun in the late '30's and which had caused so much concern over the quality of instruction in the white schools, black teacher preparation continued to improve until by 1949-50 it surpassed that of white teachers. The white teacher spent an average of 3.8 years in college in 1949-50, while the black teacher spent 4.0 and in 1950-51 the figures were 3.9 for whites and 4.1 for blacks.[46] Salaries also reflected this difference in training since the law passed in 1944 equalized salary schedules. Black teachers salaries were 103% those of white teachers in 1950-51 as opposed to 73% of whites' salaries in 1940.

Compared with most of the other Southern states, North Carolina was making good headway in equalizing educational opportunities for black school children. However, on May 17, 1954 the decision destined to change the face of Southern education was handed down by the Supreme Court. The opinion,

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[44] Virgil A. Clift, "The History of Racial Segregation in American Education," in The Countdown on Segregated Education, Society for the Advancement of Education, Inc., New York, 1960, pp. 35-36.

[45] Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1954, p.153.

[46] Ibid.

which was unanimous, read in part: "...We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal..."[47]

By 1957-58 three large cities in North Carolina, Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, put into effect a desegregation plan based on pupil placement, making them among the first communities in the Deep South to take such action. However the plan had limited effects on the actual make-up of most student bodies in the area, since parents actually had to request that their children be placed in other schools. And as might be expected, the only whites requesting transfers were those into whose school the few blacks asked to transfer.[48]

It would be a mistake to imply that after that things went smoothly. They did not. North Carolina was one of six Southern states in 1960 which passed private school laws with tuition grants establishing so-called "free" private schools. North Carolina also still maintained pupil placement laws and, in fact, was one of ten Southern states to vote school closing laws.[49] This was part of the political reality. But what must be remembered is that of all the states in the South, North Carolina in this century has shown the most concern for its black school children and has spent more on them comparatively speaking than any of the other states.[50] The thrust during the

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47 Ashmore, Ibid. p.107.

48 Herbert Wey and John Corey, Action Patterns in School Desegregation, Phi Delta Kappa, Inc., Bloomington, Indiana, 1959, pp. 122-124.

49 Clift, Ibid. p.165.

50 Ashmore, Ibid. p.153.

50's was to equalize educational facilities and opportunities for black children. No matter what the reasons may have been behind this thrust, the black children benefited. And whatever one may feel about the rationale for the attempts to close the educational gap between black and white, it still remains that other Southern states did not make the effort, did not care enough to spend the extra money. Now we can turn our attention to our present concern: The effects of black high schools on community development in North Carolina.

Summary of History

1823 - The North Carolina legislature passed a law authorizing the state treasurer to issue treasury notes. The proceeds were to be used to establish a permanent school fund for statewide common schools.

1825 - Literary Fund Law was passed. Its purpose was to provide support for public schools for whites.

1836 - The United States Congress ruled that any surplus left in the United States Treasury on January 1, 1837 was to be distributed to states on the basis of population and was to be used for public schools.

1838 - North Carolina State Senator H. G. Spruill proposed a resolution to provide public education to all children (whites) rich and poor.

1839 - In January of that year the first free common school law was passed in North Carolina. In August the first school tax bill was passed, the first time around, to provide "free countywide common schools at public expense."

1854 - The Code of 1854 required that the master or mistress of white apprentices provide them with an education covering reading, writing, and basic arithmetic.

1857 - There were 3,500 school districts each with at least one schoolhouse and 150,000 of the 200,000 school age children were enrolled.
- There were 2,256 certified teachers, 214 of whom were women.

1866 - A law was passed changing the Code of 1854 so as to include providing an education for all apprentices, black or white. Until then it had been a misdemeanor to teach a black to read and write.

1868 - A resolution was passed which stated that the "interests and happiness" of blacks and whites would be best served by establishing separate schools.
- W. J. T. Hayes, a black North Carolina legislator, was appointed Assistant State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the first black appointed to such an office in any state.

1868-73 - Because of the general poverty in the South after the Civil War, little was done in the period immediately following the War to support public schools for either race.

1873 - The first publicly supported black schools came into existence in the school year 1873-74, attended by 55,000 black children representing 32% of all school children. At that time about 34% of the children between the ages of six and twenty-one were black.

1886-1902 - Black teachers' salaries were only about 10% lower than whites'.

1900 - The Democrats returned to power and Charles B. Aycock, a proponent of "universal" education was elected governor.
- A Constitutional Amendment was passed which essentially disfranchised blacks.
- 50% more was spent on educating the white child than on the black child.

1907 - The High School Law was passed. Until then only cities and large towns had public high schools.

1914 - The first three black public high schools opened.

1915 - 300% more money was spent on educating the white child than on the black child.

1919 - The first black public high schools were accredited. There were four of them.

1921 - A Division of Negro Education was established in the State Department of Public Instruction.

1923 - The first black public high schools run by city or county school administrative units received accreditation.

1924 - There were 14 accredited black public high schools.
- Few black children were able to get a high school education.
- The average educational level for black teachers was four years of high school and for white teachers about a year and a half of college.

1933 - There were 106 black public high schools, but a majority of counties still had no way to provide a high school education for their black school children.
- On the average black teachers had about two years of college and whites about three and three quarter years of college.

1935 - A Governor's Commission published a report at the request of the governor recommending that the level of black and white schools be equalized and especially that black teachers' salaries be raised to the level of whites'.

1937-48 - The educational level of white teachers dropped because of higher paying employment in other fields.

1940 - Money spent on educating each black child was 35% less than that spent on each white child.

1944 - North Carolina passed a law equalizing black and white teacher salary schedules.

1945 - The conditions in black schools were still much worse than in white schools. 60% of black high school children were attending schools below accreditation standards.

1950 - North Carolina continued to spend more money on its black school children. 15% less was spent educating each black child than each white child. This was an increase in expenditures of 20% from 1940.
- Black teachers' educational preparation surpassed that of whites.
- Black teachers spent an average of 4.1 years in college and whites an average of 3.9.

1954 - The United States Supreme Court ruled that "Separate educational facilities were inherently unequal."

1957 - Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem made an attempt to desegregate according to a pupil placement plan. However, very little was changed under this plan.

1960 - North Carolina in an effort to retain separate schools for blacks and whites voted in private school laws setting up "free" private schools, school closing laws, and retained pupil placement laws.

Part III

Data Description of the Black High School in North Carolina in the 1963-64 Scholastic Year

As we display data that describe and define the black high school, there will be minor discrepancies resulting from the use of different summaries available at the State Department of Public Instruction.

The three major sources of information for data to be presented here are the Biennial Report of The Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina (for the scholastic years 1962-63 and 1963-64, Part One), Educational Directory 1963-64, and North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction Final Enrollment Tally for the 1963-64 Scholastic Year. There are many reasons for the slight variation in data presented in the various sources. Some of the variation is related to logistical problems created by collection, time limitations, and legal deadlines. When some sources had to be published to meet legal and practical deadlines all data were not available or those which were available could not be checked for accuracy as often as would have been desirable. In addition the inclusion of some data on all black high schools in some sources are dictated by the requirements changed across different data sources. Even some minor discrepancies in official data sources do exist, these discrepancies do not alter the basic picture of the black high school in North Carolina.

Population

According to the 1960 and 1970 census figures, blacks comprised 24.5[A] and 22.2[B] percent respectively of the total population residing in North Carolina. Appendix 1 shows the percentage of blacks residing in each county and the extent of urbanization evident in each county in 1960. The percentage of blacks across each county ranged from none in Graham County to 62.6 in Warren County. Twenty six counties had a smaller percentage

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[A] U.S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1967 (A Statistical Abstract Supplement), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967, p.262.

[B] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1971. (92nd Edition) Washington, D.C., 1971.

of blacks in proportion to the percentage of blacks (10.5%) in the United States. Half of all the counties (100) in North Carolina had a larger percentage of black residents in proportion to the percentage (24.5%) of blacks residing in the state. It is apparent from these data that blacks represent a significant percentage of the population in most areas of the state and that the numerical representation should be reflected in the data collected on the black high schools.

Sources of Funds

Tables 2 and 3 show the various sources of funds from the state and from local administrative units. In both instances more than 75% of the funds came from only two sources. At the state level, 76.4% of funds appropriated to public schools for 1963-64 came from state taxes on income and sales. Of the funds made available at the local level 82.6% of it was derived from property taxes, bonds, loans and sinking funds. The funds from state and local sources represent 78.4% and 17.4% of the total support of schools in North Carolina in 1963-64. The remaining 4.2% came from federal sources.

Table 2

Sources of State Funds in 1963-64*

	Amount	Percentage
Income Taxes	$100,805,936.00	40.6
Sales Taxes	88,866,200.00	35.8
Franchise Taxes	20,227,181.00	8.1
Beverage Taxes	11,570,424.00	4.7
Insurance Taxes	9,905,683.00	4.0
Non-tax Revenue	5,488,244.00	2.2
Inheritance Taxes	5,558,096.00	2.2
License Taxes	3,234,603.00	1.3
All Other	2,662,533.00	1.1
Total	$248,318,900.00	100.0

*Data taken from Biennial Report, 1963-64, p.20.

Table 3

Sources of Local Funds in 1963-64*

	Amount	Percentage
Property Taxes	$ 75,756,500.00	59.4
Bonds, loans and sinking funds	29,554,000.00	23.2
Interest, donations	6,968,500.00	5.5
Fines, forfeitures, penalties, poll and dog taxes	7,544,974.00	5.9
Intangible, beer, wine and ABC funds	3,646,500.00	2.9
Collections from pupils	2,376,645.00	1.9
Sale of property	1,630,796.00	1.2
Total	$127,487,916.00	100.0

Expenditures

Table 4 shows the expenses and capital outlay for the 1963-64 scholastic year. Funds used covered the operational costs of public schools. Capital outlay covered costs related to payments for buildings and other physical facilities. Expenditures for department service (repayment of principal and interest on bonds and notes) were paid out of local funds.

Table 4

Current Expense and Capital Outlay for North Carolina Public Schools in 1963-64**

	Current Expense		
State Funds	Local Funds	Federal Funds	Total
$248,318,900.00	$52,000,000.00	$14,000,000.00	$314,318,900.00
	Capital Outlay		
$ 162,083.75	$47,987,916.25	$ 1,850,000.00	$ 50,000,000.00

*Taken from Biennial Report, 1963-64, p.20.
** Taken from Biennial Report, 1963-64, p.21.

Using the available totals, the per pupil expenditures in 1963-64 by categories were as follows:

Categories	Per Pupil Expenditures
State	$229.33
Local	48.03
Federal	12.93
Total Current Expense	290.29
Capital Outlay	46.18
Grand Total	$336.47

Instructional Service

Instructional Positions--All teaching positions are allotted to administrative districts in individual administrative units computed on the basis of average daily attendance for the best continuous six months of the first seven months, together with the average daily absences due to contagious diseases for the same continuous six months, together with other pertinent attendance data, including incoming and outgoing grades and adjustments for dropouts and population changes based on prior experience of the individual districts.* The allocation formula followed the pattern indicated below:

Per Pupil Teacher Allocation in 1963-64

High Schools--1 for 25 pupils
2 for 40 pupils
3 for 60 pupils
4 for 80 pupils
and 1 additional for each 30 additional pupils.

In addition to the base allotment set forth above, an additional position is allotted for each 15 teacher positions allotted in the base allotment.

Summary of State Expenditures for 1963-64

Appendix 2 shows the Summary of State Expenditures for the 1963-64

* Biennial Report, 1963-64, p.24.

Scholastic year. In most instances black staff and schools received a larger percentage of the budget than the share suggested by their representation in the state population (24.5%, 1960 census). There were only four instances where the percentage of funds allocated for black schools across the various categories was less than the percentage of blacks in the total state population. The expenditure categories in question were Supervisors' Salaries (19%), Compensation for School Employees (21%), Tort Claims (18%), and Garage Equipment (19%). When the share of expenditures for blacks across categories are compared with the percentage of black high schools (31%) and high school enrollment (36%), in three instances (Principals' Salaries 31%, Injured Pupils 33%, and Child Health Program 38%), the expenditures allocated for blacks equaled or exceeded the percentage of black high schools (31%). There was only one instance where an expenditure category (Child Health Program 38%) exceeded the percentage of blacks enrolled in high schools. On the whole, a larger share of the state expenditures went to blacks in proportion to their percentage of the total state population, but they received less than their share in relation to the percentage of black high schools and enrollment.

Number of Schools

Data shown in Table 5 indicates that 31% of all schools with high schools (grades 9-12) in North Carolina were black. There was a smaller percentage of black Senior high schools (grades 9-12 or 10-12) than black Junior-Senior high schools (grades 5-12) and Union schools (1-12).

Table 5

74

Number of High Schools in 1963-64

Race	Number	%
White	499	69
Black	226	31
Total	725	100

Table 6 shows the distribution of black high schools across various categories in the three major groupings (Senior, Junior-Senior, and Union). Most black high schools (79.2%) were Union Schools (grades 1-12) and the remaining two major groups of black high schools had approximately the same percentage of attendance units.

Table 6

Grade Level Summary of Black High Schools in North Carolina*

Type of High School	Grade Levels	Number of Schools	Percentage of Schools	Total	
				Number	Percent
Senior	9-12	17	7.5		
	10-12	7	3.1	24	10.6
Junior-Senior	5-12	2	.9		
	6-12	2	.1		
	7-12	13	5.8		
	8-12	6	2.7	23	10.2
Union	1-12	179	79.2	179	79.2
Totals	7	226	100.0	226	100.0

Table 7 shows that 90 of the state's 100 counties had at least 1 black high school. Specifically 39 counties had 1 black high school, 12 counties had 2 schools, 15 counties had 3 schools, 2 counties had 5 schools, 4 counties had 6 schools, and 3 different counties had 7, 8, and 9 schools, respectively. When the distribution of black high schools across administrative units are considered, a different kind of picture emerges. Table 8 indicates that 140 of the state's 171 administrative units had at least one black high school. Ninety-nine of these units had 1 school, 14 had 2 schools, 15 had 3 schools, 9 had 4 schools and 3 had 6 schools.

*Data taken from 1963-64 Educational Directory

Table 7

Distribution of Black High Schools Per County

# of High Schools Per County	Frequency	%
1	40	44.0
2	13	14.3
3	14	15.4
4	15	16.5
5	2	2.2
6	4	4.4
7	1	1.1
8	1	1.1
9	1	1.1
(Total Counties having black schools=91)		

Table 8

Distribution of Black High Schools per Administrative Unit

# of High Schools Per Adm. Unit	Frequency	%
1	99	70.7
2	14	10.0
3	15	10.7
4	9	6.4
5	0	0
6	3	2.1
(Total # of Administrative Units having black schools=140)		

Table 9 shows the number of black high schools in relation to the number of teachers per school. Most of the black high schools had at least 6 teachers and 46.4% of them had 12 or more teachers.

Table 9

Number of Public Schools With High School Grades
1963-64

Race	1-2 Teachers	%	3-5 Teachers	%	6-11 Teachers	%	12 or more Teachers	%	Total
White	7	1.2	46	7.8	240	40.7	297	50.3	590
Black	8	3.2	16	6.4	110	44	116	46.4	250
Total	15	1.8	62	7.4	350	41.7	413	49.2	840

Age of Black High School Buildings

It was difficult to determine when black high school buildings were first opened. The division within the State Department responsible for buildings and facilities did not have records that were easy to follow in determining the age of the present school plants. In some instances buildings had been remodeled and the remodeling date was inserted as the date of completion. Given these and other data problems, information on the age of black high schools should be considered as suggestive rather than exact. Of the 226 black high schools considered we could only find clear opening dates for 72 of them. Table 10 shows over half (54.1%) of these schools were opened before 1930. About 11.2% of the 72 schools were opened after 1945.

Table 10

Opening Dates of a Sample of Black High Schools

Years	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1950-1954	5	6.9	99.9
1945-1949	3	4.2	93
1940-1944	8	11.1	88.8
1935-1939	10	13.9	77.7
1930-1934	7	9.7	63.8
1925-1929	17	23.6	54.1
1920-1924	14	19.4	30.5
1915-1919	5	6.9	11.1
1910-1914	0	0	4.2
1905-1909	3	4.2	4.2

Enrollment and Attendance

In 1963-64, there were 85,948 (36%) black high school students out of a total state enrollment of 324,367 (see Table 11). However, there were only 75,290 (34.6%) black high school students in average daily attendance out of a total of 292,639 for the state.

Table 11

Enrollment and Attendance
High School (Grades 9-12) 1963-64

Race	Number	%
Enrollment		
White	238,419	64
Black	85,948	36
Total	324,367	100
Average Daily Attendance		
White	217,349	65.4
Black	75,290	34.6
Total	292,639	100.0

Table 12 shows the number of black high schools in relation to the number of students enrolled. More than half (55.4%) of all black high schools enrolled fewer than 300 students and 89.7% enrolled fewer than 600 students. Only 10.2% of the black high schools enrolled more than 600 students. Table 13 shows the distribution of black high school enrollment for the three major types of high schools. It is interesting to note that more than half (11) of the black Senior high schools enrolled more than 700 students each. A little more than half (13) of the Junior-Senior high schools enrolled fewer than 500 students each. More than half (148) of the black Union high schools enrolled fewer than 400 students with the majority (120) enrolling fewer than 300 students each.

Table 12

Enrollment Summary of Black High Schools
in North Carolina, Grades 9-12
1963-64*

Total Enrollment	Frequency	% of Total	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent
1200-1299	2	.9	224	100.0
1100-1199	2	.9	222	99.1
1000-1099	1	.4	220	98.2
900-999	2	.9	219	97.8
800-899	3	1.3	217	96.9
700-799	6	2.7	214	95.5
600-699	7	3.1	208	92.9
500-599	15	6.7	201	89.7
400-499	26	11.6	186	83.0
300-399	36	16.1	160	71.4
200-299	59	26.3	124	55.4
100-199	50	22.3	65	29.0
0-99	15	6.7	15	6.7

* Data taken from North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction final enrollment tally for the 1963-64 academic year.

Table 13

Enrollment Summary of Black High Schools
in North Carolina, Grades 9-12
1963-64*

Enrollment	Number of Sr. High Schools	% of Sr. High Schools	Number of Jr.-Sr. High Schools	% of Jr.-Sr. High Schools	No. of Union Schools	% of Union School
1200-1299	2	10.5				
1100-1199	2	10.5				
1000-1099			1	4.2		
900-999	2	10.5				
800-899	1	5.3	2	8.3		
700-799	4	21.1	2	8.3		
600-699			3	12.5	4	2.2
500-599	2	10.5	3	12.5	10	5.5
400-499	2	10.5	5	20.8	19	10.5
300-399	3	15.8	5	20.8	28	15.5
200-299	1	5.3	3	12.5	55	30.4
100-199					50	27.6
0-99					15	8.3

	Total Number	Percent of All Schools
Sr. High	19	8.5
Jr. High	24	10.7
Union	181	80.8
Total	224	100.0

* Data taken from North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction
Final enrollment tally for the 1963-64 academic year.

Enrollment and Percentage by Grade Levels

Tables 14 and 15 reflect an interesting phenomenon. Table 16 purports to reflect the high school dropout rate. It is hard to believe that there is a state anywhere with as low a dropout rate as 4.2%. Table 14 shows what percentage of the student body is at what grade level. Higher percentage figures for blacks in 9th and 10th grades reflect their correspondingly lower enrollment in 11th and 12th grades. This indicates that a lower percentage of blacks than whites finishes high school. The percentage figures reported in Table 15 could only conceivably refer to the fact that more whites who begin school in the fall drop out during the school year. Referring back to Table 14, even accounting for a slight yearly increase in 9th grade enrollment, the figures then must show that a higher percentage of blacks than whites chooses not to re-enroll in school each year. In general, of those who begin 9th grade, only about two-thirds graduate from high school four years later.

Table 14

Enrollment and Percentage by Grades
High Schools (Grades 9-12)

Grade	White	%	Black	%	Total
Ninth	70,443	29.5	28,244	32.9	98,687
Tenth	65,939	27.7	24,418	28.4	90,357
Eleventh	59,792	25.1	19,236	22.4	79,028
Twelfth	42,048	17.6	13,970	16.3	56,018
Ungraded	197	.1	80	.1	277
Totals	238,419	100.0	85,948	100.0	324,367

Table 15

81

Drop-outs and Absences*

Race	Dropouts	%	Average Daily Absences	%
White	34,919	4.2	40,434	4.9
Black	12,936	3.7	26,910	7.6

*Includes Enrollment for Elementary & Secondary Grades

Attendance and Absences

Table 16 compares average daily membership with average daily attendance and absences. In black high schools, the average daily attendance was 91.8% of the average daily membership. This percentage for black schools was slightly less than for white schools. The annual average number of days (166.0) attended per pupil enrolled in black high schools was 5 days less than for white students (171.0) for 1963-64. The percent (7.6%) of average daily absences for black high school students was also higher than the percentage (4.9%) for white students.

Table 16

Membership and Attendance in 1963-64
High Schools (Grades 9-12)

Race	% of Average Daily Membership in Average Daily Attendance	Average No. of Days Attended Per Pupil in Membership
White	94.9	171.0
Black	91.8	166.0
Total	94.1	169.4

High School Graduates

In 1963-64, there were 12,964 black high school graduates. These black graduates represented 24.4% of the total graduating class for that year (see Table 17). The black graduation percentage was approximately the same as the percentage of blacks in the total state population for 1960 which was 24.5%. However, it is more important to remember that the percentage of blacks in high schools outdistances their percentage in the population as a whole. While blacks represented 24.5% of the total population in 1964, they made up 36% of the high school population.

Table 17

High School Graduates
1963-64

Race	# of High School Graduates	% Breakdown by Race	# of High School Grads Going on to Post-Secondary Education	% Breakdown by Race	% Breakdown by Race of High School Grads Going on for Post-Secondary Ed.
White	40,127	75.6	21,668	54	83.1
Black	12,964	24.4	4,408	34	16.9
Total	53,091	100.0	26,076	49.1	100.0

Table 17 also shows that in 1963-64 while 34% of all black high school graduates in North Carolina went on to college or some post-secondary schooling, 54% of whites went on for similar training. Of those going on for further education whites represented 83.1% and blacks 16.9% of the group. In 1970, 16.5% of the student body enrolled in all post-secondary institutions was black as compared with an average of 6.9% for the United States as a whole.

Table 18

The Status of 1964 High School Graduates
a Year After Graduation
(By Percentage)

Race	In Sr. Colleges	In Jr. Colleges	Total in Colleges	In Trade, Bus., Nursing Schools	Total in Schools, Colleges	Military Service	Work, etc.
White	32.7	7.5	40.2	13.6	53.8	3.8	42.4
Black	26.0	0.	26.8	7.2	34.0	4.7	61.3

Table 18 shows the general pattern in 1964-65 of dispersion of black high school students immediately following graduation. A large percentage of black high school graduates went on to college, 26.8%, and another 7.2% went on for other post-secondary education making a total of 34% of black

Table 20

Summary of Teachers in All Black High Schools in North Carolina*

Number of Teachers	F	%	CF	C
71-75	1	.4	226	99.8
66-70			225	99.4
61-65			225	99.4
56-60	2	.9	225	99.4
51-55			223	98.5
46-50	1	.4	223	98.5
41-45	3	1.3	222	98.1
36-40	2	.9	219	96.8
31-35	7	3.1	217	95.9
26-30	8	3.5	210	92.8
21-25	22	9.7	202	89.3
16-20	31	13.7	180	79.6
11-15	71	31.4	149	65.9
6-10	63	27.9	78	34.5
0-5	15	6.6	15	6.6
Total:	226			

*Data taken from 1963-64 Educational Directory.

Table 21

Summary of Teachers in All-Black High Schools
In North Carolina, 1963-64*

Number of Teachers	Senior High Schools	% of Sr. High Schools	Jr-Sr High Schools	% of Jr-Sr H.S.	Union Schools	% of Union Schools
71-75	1	4.2				
66-70						
61-65						
56-60	2	8.3				
51-55						
46-50			1	4.3		
41-45	2	8.3	1	4.3		
36-40	1	4.2	1	4.3		
31-35	5	20.8	2	8.7		
26-30	2	8.3	3	13.0	3	1.7
21-25	5	20.8	4	17.4	13	7.3
16-20	1	4.2	6	26.1	24	13.4
11-15	5	20.8	5	21.7	61	34.1
6-10					63	35.2
0-5					15	8.4

	Number	Percent of School Total
Senior High Schools	24	10.5
Jr-Sr High Schools	23	10.1
Union Schools	179	80.4
	226	100.0%

The certificate status of black instructional personnel in 1963-64 shown in Table 22 indicates that a higher percentage of blacks (27.2%) held graduate credentials than whites (16.8%). At the teacher level, 24.8% of the black teachers had graduate credentials while 13.2% of the white teachers held the same credentials. A larger percentage of black principals (86.1%) held graduate credentials than white principals (84.7%). When white and black supervisors were compared, whites (78.7%) held more graduate credentials than blacks (9.7%). Combining the two highest credential categories (Class A and Graduate) and comparing black and white instructional personnel, more blacks (99.0%) held higher credentials than whites (95.4%). It appears that black instructional personnel were slightly more apt to acquire the highest credentials available than their white counterparts.

Table 22

Certificate Status, Instructional Personnel, 1963-64

	Non-Standard	%	Elem. B	%	Elem. A	%	Class C	%	Class B	%	Class A	%	Grad-uate	%	Total
WHITE AND INDIAN	18	.1	8	.0	32	.1	107	.3	1,365	4.2	25,820	78.6	5,515	16.8	32,865
Teachers	18	.1	8	.0	32	.1	107	.3	1,365	4.4	25,548	81.9	4,122	13.2	31,200
Principals											212	15.3	1,171	84.7	1,383
Supervisors											60	21.3	222	78.7	282
BLACK	2	.0					4	.0	121	.9	9,211	71.8	3,497	27.2	12,835
Teachers	2	.0					4	.0	121	1	9,083	74.1	3,045	24.8	12,255
Principals											72	13.9	446	86.1	518
Supervisors											56	90.3	6	9.7	62
TOTAL	20	.0	8	.0	32	.1	111	.2	1,486	3.3	35,031	76.7	9,012	19.7	45,700
Teachers	20	.0	8	.0	32	.1	111	.3	1,486	3.4	34,631	79.7	7,167	16.5	43,455
Principals											284	14.9	1,617	85.1	1,901
Supervisors											116	33.7	228	66.3	344

Table 23 shows the average annual salaries paid to high school teachers, principals and supervisors, and vocational teachers. It is interesting to note that black teachers received higher average annual salaries ($5,030.23) than white teachers ($4,939.87). The average annual difference in salary was $90.36. Black principals and supervisors earned a higher ($8,950.85) average annual salary than whites ($8,743.76) holding similar positions. The average annual difference between the salaries of black and white principals and supervisors was $207.09. Two reasons combine to make this so. The first is that, as seen in Table 22, a higher percentage of blacks had higher credentials. The second, although we have no actual figures to show this, relates to the fact that blacks made higher average salaries than whites simply because blacks had longer tenure than whites. Black high school teachers, principals, and other professional staff tended to remain at the same school for longer periods of time.

On the other hand the average annual salary picture for black and white high school vocational teachers is reversed. Black vocational teachers earned a lower average annual salary ($6,269.67) than white vocational teachers ($6,561.73). The average annual difference between these salaries was $292.06. One explanation for this discrepancy is the influence of local funds on the average salary of such teachers (see Table 23). By their very nature, vocational programs are directly influenced by local policy and resources. This might be a worthwhile area for further analysis and study.

Table 23

Average Annual Salaries, All Funds

A. Teachers

Year	White	Black
1954-55	$3,212.24	$3,186.72
1959-60	3,889.40	3,918.98
1960-61	4,099.85	4,125.50
1961-62	4,788.50	4,880.86
1962-63	4,810.94	4,899.87
1963-64	4,939.87	5,030.23

B. Principals and Supervisors

1954-55	5,414.25	5,449.82
1959-60	6,457.96	6,594.63
1960-61	6,093.14	7,001.68
1961-62	8,215.69	8,472.25
1962-63	8,048.94	8,288.72
1963-64	8,743.76	8,950.85

C. Vocational Teachers (Including Travel)

Year	White	Black	Total
1954-55	$4,373.17	$4,289.06	$4,353.29
1959-60	5,839.73	5,438.34	5,741.56
1960-61	6,031.68	5,633.43	5,955.65
1961-62	6,635.17	6,279.90	6,566.87
1962-63	6,794.02	6,484.90	6,720.10
1963-64	6,561.73	6,269.67	6,490.34

In 1963-64, (see Table 24) black high school teachers had an average salary ($4,741.50) from state funds which was less than the average salary ($4,842.08) paid white teachers. The average annual difference was $100.58. The average state salary for black principals was greater ($8,585.36) than the salary paid to white principals ($8,265.59). The average annual salary difference for this group was $319.77. Black supervisors earned a higher ($6,669.49) average annual salary than the salary paid to white supervisors ($6,562.52). The average annual difference for the supervisors' group was $106.97.

Table 24

Number Employed and Average Salaries, State Funds

Year	White No.	White Average	Black No.	Black Average
A. Teachers				
1954-55	4,902	$3,074.77	1,616	$3,068.99-
1959-60	6,145	3,766.46	2,052	3,811.67+
1960-61	6,196	3,942.88	2,093	3,990.24+
1961-62	6,771	4,751.28	2,275	4,813.10+
1962-63	7,283	4,583.50	2,430	4,666.82+
1963-64	7,889	4,842.08	2,829	4,741.50-
B. Principals				
1954-55	652	$5,304.98	216	$5,368.58+
1959-60	624	6,181.88	224	6,390.65+
1960-61	602	6,537.31	225	6,726.12+
1961-62	579	7,869.90	226	8,055.09+
1962-63	550	7,637.20	227	7,809.46+
1963-64	527	8,265.59	226	8,585.36+
C. Supervisors				
1954-55	180	$3,993.73	85	$4,061.99+
1959-60	187	5,839.82	50	4,988.74-
1960-61	188	5,039.98	50	5,054.41+
1961-62	217	6,563.79	50	6,807.69+
1962-63	227	6,408.26	50	6,547.63+
1963-64	231	6,562.52	54	6,669.49+

Accreditation of Black High Schools

Table 25 shows a summary of the accreditation status of black high schools by major type. Of the 226 black high schools, 211 (93.4%) of them were accredited by the state of North Carolina and 49 (21.7%) were approved by the Southern Association. Only 15 (6.6%) of all black high schools had failed to achieve accreditation by 1963-64.

When we studied the data on the year selected schools opened and compared them with the state accreditation year indicated for each school, we observed an interesting pattern (see Table 26). Of the 72 high schools

for which we have opening dates 28 (38.8%) were accredited within the first five years of operation. More than half (61.0%) of these schools received state accreditation within the first 10 years of operation. Less than one fourth, (22.3) of these schools required more than 15 years to receive accreditation. Since the self-studies required for accreditation were expensive and time-consuming, it is possible that some of the schools which were not accredited or which required a longer period of time to receive accreditation were beset by financial problems. It is interesting to note, in fact, that of the schools which took more than 15 years to receive accreditation, all but one were union schools.

Table 25

1963-64 Accreditation Status of Black High Schools in North Carolina*

	Accredited by State	Unaccredited	Approved by S.A.
Senior High Schools	23	1	14
Junior-Senior H.S.	23	-	15
Union Schools	165	14	20
Total	211	15	49

*Data taken from 1963-64 Educational Directory of the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction.

Table 26

Number of Years Between the Opening of Black High Schools and the Achievement of State Accreditation

Years between school opening and State Accreditation	H.S.	Jr.-Sr.	Union	Totals N	Totals %
Same Year	1	1	3	5	6.9
1-5	4	4	15	23	31.9
6-10	1	3	12	16	22.2
11-15	-	2	11	13	18.1
16-20	-	-	2	2	2.8
21-25	-	-	-	0	
26-30	-	-	2	2	2.8
31-35	-	-	2	2	2.8
36-40	-	1	1	2	2.8
41 over	-	-	2	2	2.8
Not Accred.	-	-	6	6	8.3
Total	6	11	56	72	

Many black high schools were accredited for a long period of time (See Table 27). As a matter of fact 72.1% of them had been accredited for more than twenty years. More than half of the Senior (75.2%) and Junior-Senior (73.9%) high schools were accredited for more than 31 years. Union high schools accredited for a similar period of time (more than 31 years) represented a smaller percentage (32.1%) of schools. The actual range of accreditation dates for Senior high schools was from 3 to 49 years with a mean of 30.04 and a standard deviation of 13.53, for Junior-Senior high schools the range was from 3 to 44 years with a mean of 31.13 and a standard deviation of 12.73, and for Union high schools the range was from 3 to 42 years with a mean of 23.70 and a standard deviation of 10.78.

Table 27

Number of Years Black High Schools Had Been Accredited in 1963-64

Number of Years Accredited	Type of High School: Senior N	Senior %	Jr.-Sr. N	Jr.-Sr. %	Union N	Union %	Totals N	Totals %
0-10	3	13	3	13	34	20.6	40	19
11-20	2	8.7	1	4.3	16	9.7	19	9
21-30	3	13	2	8.7	62	37.6	67	31.8
31-40	10	43.5	10	43.5	52	31.5	72	34.1
41-50	5	21.7	7	30.4	1	.6	13	6.2
Totals	23		23		165		211	

The High School Curriculum in the Black High School

In 1963-64 the high school core curriculum in black high schools consisted of five required subjects: English, Mathematics, Social Studies, Science, and Health and Physical Education. The course of study followed by most black students in completing the 16 units required for graduation is shown below:

Subject Areas	Units
English	4
Mathematics	1
Social Studies	2
Science	2
Health and Physical Education	1
Electives	6

Some of the black high schools required 1 or 2 units above the minimum state requirement (16) for graduation.

The actual courses are shown in Appendix 3 which contains a great deal of data that are not easily summarized. Since this is the case, the reader must be provided with some information to help in interpretation: In 1963-64, 31% of all high schools were black, 36% of all high school students enrolled were black, black students represented 34.6% of average daily attendance, and the average number of black students per high school

was 380 on the basis of enrollment and 333 on the basis of average daily attendance. Our comments will make use of the above information.

Black high schools offered the four required English courses in direct proportion to the percentage they represented in the total number of schools in question. That is, of schools offering English I-IV, 31% were black. In the area of Dramatics, black high schools were over-represented (34%) and in Advanced English (V) (19%) and other specialized courses in the English area they were under-represented. As for Mathematics, black high schools were proportionally represented in Algebra I (31%), and over-represented in Plane Geometry (34%), and Miscellaneous Math (38%). In all other Mathematics courses black high schools were under-represented.

In the Science area, black high schools were proportionally or over-represented in two courses (Biology 31% and Chemistry 33%). Other courses in the Science area were under-represented in black high schools. In a majority of courses in the Social Science area black high schools were proportionally or over-represented. The courses in this area that were under-represented were Problems of American Democracy (23%), Geography (21%), Government (16%), and Miscellaneous History (30%).

In Home Economics black high schools were proportionally or over-represented in two courses and under-represented in three areas. Black high schools tended to be under-represented in the Industrial Cooperative Training and Distributive Education areas. However, in the Trades and Industries area they were over-represented.

The Music category shows three areas where black high schools were proportionally or over-represented. In the remaining two Music areas black high schools were under-represented. Industrial Arts was under-represented in black high schools. The Industrial Arts Education

area was proportionally represented in black high schools. The Physical Education (27%), Bible (10%) and Psychology (12%) areas were all under-represented in the black high schools.

All but three of the standard Foreign Language courses were offered and taken by students in black high schools. In four instances--French I (33%), French II (34%), Other French (50%), and Spanish (35%)--black high schools were proportionally or over-represented.

There were only two course areas, Basic Business (35%), and Miscellaneous Business (32%), in Business Education where black high schools were proportionally or over-represented. The Agriculture courses were all under-represented in black high schools.

The number of black students enrolled in these courses ranged from 8 students in German II to 31,296 in Industrial Arts Education. There were only 9 courses that enrolled black students in proportion or in greater proportion to the percentage (36%) of black students enrolled in all schools. These included: Miscellaneous Math (48%), Trade and Industries (41%), General Music (76%), Band (38%), Orchestra (40%), Other French (44%), Sociology (37%), Home Economics III (36%), and Home Economics IV (43%). When the total curriculum is viewed in terms of black enrollment on the basis of average daily attendance, there were 11 courses that had a percentage of black enrollment proportional to or exceeding the representation of blacks in the total school population.

As indicated earlier, black high schools enrolled on the average 380 students and had an average daily attendance of 333 students. When the number of black students enrolled in individual courses is averaged across the number of schools offering the courses, the average enrollment across schools ranged from 8 students enrolled in German II in one school to an

average of 130 students enrolled in Industrial Arts Education in each of 240 schools. Figures for 53 courses indicate that they would be allocated one teacher per school by the state, 21 courses would be allocated two teachers per school, 13 courses 3 teachers per school, and 5 courses four teachers per school.

The High School Library

In 1963-64, there were 190 school librarians in black high schools. Black librarians comprised 27.1% of all the librarians in the state. There was one librarian for every 452 black high school students.

Table 29 indicates library circulation data. Since these data were not presented for black and white schools separately, the library circulation for black students cannot be determined precisely.

North Carolina published no breakdown by race on library expenditures after the 1954-55 scholastic year (see Table 30). In that year $0.92 was spent per black student, $1.52 per white student, with an average of $1.35 per student. The only information we have been able to gather on per pupil library expenditures, other than The State Department of Education's average per pupil library expenditure of $3.99, has come from The Preliminary Annual Reports which the state requires each school to submit every year.

Of the 93 black high schools for which we have preliminary annual reports, 78 provided usable figures. Almost 72% (see Table 31) of these schools spent $3.99 or less per pupil while fully two-thirds of the schools had $3.50 or less to spend per pupil. In fact almost 38% of the schools had $2.00 per pupil or less to spend on their libraries.

Five schools reported that they spent over $9.50 per pupil on their libraries. Three of these schools were large urban high schools. The other two schools, however, were union schools and it seems unlikely they actually

spent as much money per pupil as they reported. Their per pupil high school library expenditures may have been figured incorrectly on the basis of total library expenditures for the entire school divided by the number of high school students, thus accounting for what seem to be highly inflated figures. In general, the preliminary annual report forms may be less than accurate since black principals have told us that they were required to submit a rough draft of these forms to The Central Administrative Office where certain changes would be made. The principals would then send these amended forms to The State Department of Education.

Table 28

School Library Personnel 1963-64

Race	High School Enrollment	# High School Librarians	# H.S. Librarians Per Pupil	Elem. School Enrollment	# Elem. School Librarians	# El. School Librarians Per Pupil	Total--All School Librarian Per Pupil
Black	85,948	190	452/1	267,753	130	2060/1	1105/1
White	238,419	512	466/1	594,538	421	1412/1	893/1
Total	324,367	702	462/1	862,291	551	1565/1	947/1

Table 29

Number and Circulation of Library Books

Year	Total Volumes	Volumes Per Pupil	Volumes Added	Total Circulation	Circulation Per Pupil
1954-55	5,191,697	5.04	---	18,867,530	18.31
1959-60	6,409,323	5.98	560,522	25,272,967	22.85
1960-61	6,765,372	6.02	665,496	26,763,986	23.82
1961-62	7,299,273	6.39	718,399	29,673,250	25.99
1962-63	8,548,060	7.35	909,145	35,520,039	30.56
1963-64	8,886,042	7.49	1,060,691	36,201,618	30.59

Table 30

Expenditures for School Libraries

Year	White	Black	%	Total Expenditures	Average Per Pupil
1929-30	-	-	-	$ 128,441.55	$ .32
1934-35	$ 98,729.48	$ 14,017.35	12.4	112,746.83	.17
1939-40	236,551.93	31,977.85	11.9	268,529.77	.40
1944-45	368,520.63	74,679.03	16.8	443,199.66	.64
1949-50	714,446.18	162,425.32	18.5	876,871.50	1.08
1954-55	1,075,763.15	271,414.76	25.2	1,347,177.91	1.31

	Library Books		All Library Materials and Supplies	
Year	Total	Per Pupil	Total	Per Pupil
1959-60	$1,384,942.11*	$1.25*	$2,056,112.86	$1.92
1960-61	1,564,930.63*	1.39*	2,598,529.58	2.31
1961-62	2,010,033.77*	1.78*	3,080,397.54	2.70
1962-63	1,916,374.17	1.65	3,730,468.79	3.20
1963-64	2,676,442.00	2.26	4,735,518.00	3.99

Table 31

Library Expenditures in Black High Schools 1963-64

Library Expenditures Per Pupil	Frequency	%
$0.0-$0.50	0	0
.51-1.00	7	9.0
1.01-1.50	5	6.4
1.51-2.00	11	14.1
2.01-2.50	11	14.1
2.51-3.00	12	15.4
3.01-3.50	6	7.7
3.51-4.00	4	5.1
4.01-4.50	7	9.0
4.51-5.00	3	3.8
5.01-5.50	3	3.8
5.51-6.00	1	1.3
6.01-6.50	0	0
6.51-7.00	1	1.3
7.01-7.50	2	2.6
7.51-8.00	0	0
8.01-8.50	0	0
8.51-9.00	0	0
9.01-9.50	1	1.3
9.51-10.00	3	3.8
over 10.00	1	1.3

Interscholastic Athletic Programs

Table 32 shows the extent of participation by black schools in interscholastic athletic programs. In Basketball 224 and 142 schools fielded boys and girls Basketball, respectively. There were 75 schools with Baseball teams and 88 schools with Football teams. Eighty-one of the black high schools had Track and Field teams. There were 2 and 16 black high schools with Golf and Tennis teams, respectively. No black high schools had Wrestling, Cross Country, Swimming, or Soccer teams.

We have attempted above to describe the black high schools in terms of available official school data. The data presented provide an official picture of the black high school in North Carolina during the 1963-64 scholastic year.

Table 32

Interscholastic Athletic Programs
in the Public Schools, 1963-64

	High Schools			
	White	Black	Total	%
Schools Reporting	497	232	729	32
Sports:				
Basketball--				
Boys	495	224	719	31
Girls	415	142	557	25
Baseball	448	75	523	14
Football	321	88	409	22
Track and Field	225	81	306	26
Golf	112	2	114	2
Tennis	47	9	56	16
Wrestling	52	-	52	-
Cross Country	12	-	12	-
Swimming	10	-	10	-
Soccer	3	-	3	-

Summary of Findings

Above we have presented the data that describe the black high school and part of its environmental setting during the 1963-64 scholastic year. The summary of those findings are presented below:

1. Black people comprised 24.5% and 22.2% of the total state population in 1960 and 1970 respectively.

2. The percentage of blacks in 1960 across all counties ranged from none to 62.6%.

3. Half of all counties in 1960 had a percentage of black people that was larger than the percentage (24.5%) of blacks living in the state.

4. In 1963-64 funds for supporting public schools came from three major sources: State (78.4%), Local (17.4%), and Federal (4.2%).

5. More than 75% of the State funds for school support came from income and sales taxes and at the local level more than 75% of funds came from property taxes and bonds in 1963-64.

6. In 27 out of 31 state budget expenditure items, black staff and schools received a larger percentage (ranging from 25% to 38%) of the budget than their proportional representation (24.5% in 1960) in the total state population.

7. In the majority of instances (28 state budget expenditure items), black staff and schools received a smaller percentage of the funds than the percentage (31%) black high schools represented of the total number of high schools in the state in 1963-64.

8. In all but one instance (30 state budget expenditure items), black staff and schools received a smaller percentage of the funds than the percentage (36%) black student enrollment represented of the total number of high school students enrolled in 1963-64.

9. There were 226 regular black high schools (24 Senior, 23 Junior-Senior, 179 Union, grades 1-12) in the state in 1963-64. There were 250 black public schools with high school grades.

10. Of the counties (91 in number) with black schools, 44% of the counties had only one black high school and 46.2% had two to four black high schools. Only a small percentage of the counties had more.

11. The majority (70.7%) of the administrative units (140 in number) with black high schools had only one black high school. Only 20.7% of the counties had two to three black high schools with few having more.

12. Of the 72 black high schools for which we had opening dates, more than half (54.1%) of them were opened before 1930, 11.2% of them opened after 1945, and the remaining 34.7% were opened between 1930 and 1945.

13. There were 85,948 black high school students enrolled and they comprised 36% of the total state enrollment in 1963-64 in public high schools.

14. On the basis of enrollment and average daily attendance, black high schools had 380 and 333 students per high school, respectively.

15. The average daily attendance of black high school students was 75,290 which represented 34.6% of the total average daily attendance for the state in 1963-64.

16. More than half (55.4%) of all black high schools enrolled fewer than 300 students and 10.3% of them enrolled more than 600 students in 1963-64.

17. Black high schools had a larger percentage of ninth graders which reflects the corresponding lower percentage of enrollment in 11th and 12th grades in 1963-64.

18. The average daily attendance in 1963-64 in black high schools was 91.8% of the average daily membership.

19. The average number of days attended per black high school student in 1963-64 was 166 days per student out of a required number of 180 days.

20. Only about 67% of those black students who entered ninth grade graduated from high school four years later. The percentage of whites completing high school is only slightly higher.

21. The average daily absences for black high school students was 7.6% of the average daily enrollment in 1963-64.

22. There were 12,964 black high school graduates comprising 24.4% of the total number of graduates in the state in 1963-64.

23. A large percentage of black high school graduates enrolled in colleges (26.8%) and post secondary schools (7.2%) in 1963-64.

24. Most black graduates (61.3%) went to work immediately following graduation in 1963-64.

25. There were 3,401 black high school teachers comprising 24.8% of all the high school teachers in the state in 1963-64.

26. There were 228 black high school principals comprising 30.3% of all staff so categorized in 1963-64.

27. Almost all (99.0%) black teachers in 1963-64 held the highest certificate status (Class A and/or Graduate) required for their position and for continued employment.

28. The majority (86.1%) of black principals in 1963-64 held the highest certificate (Class A and Graduate) status required for their position and for continued employment.

29. All black supervisors in 1963-64 held the highest certificate status (Class A and/or Graduate) required for their position and for continued employment.

30. The average annual salary in 1963-64 for black high school teachers ($5,030.23) was higher than that of white high school teachers.

31. The average annual salary in 1963-64 for black principals and supervisors ($8,950.85) was higher than that of whites in similar positions.

32. The average annual salary in 1963-64 for black vocational teachers ($6,269.67) was lower than that of whites holding similar positions.

33. Of the 226 black high schools, 211 (93.4%) of them were accredited by the State of North Carolina and 49 (21.7%) were approved by the Southern Association.

34. Of the 72 black high schools for which we have opening dates, 28 (38.8%) were accredited within the first five years of operation and more than half (61.0%) during the first ten years of operation. A little less than one quarter (22.3%) of these schools required more than fifteen years to receive accreditation.

35. Most (72.1%) black high schools had been accredited for more than twenty years. The mean number of years Senior, Junior-Senior and Union high schools had been accredited was 30 years, 31 years and 24 years, respectively.

36. Black high schools offered 11 out of 12 of all the English subjects offered in the state, all of the Mathematics subjects (10), all of the Science subjects (10), all of the Trades and Industries subjects (1), all of the Music subjects (5), all of the Art subjects (1), all of the Industrial Arts and Education subjects (2), all of the Physical Education subjects (1), all of the Bible subjects (1), all of the Psychology subjects (1), 14 out of 17 Foreign Language subjects, all of the Business Education subjects (13), 4 out of 5 Agriculture subjects, all of the Social Studies subjects, (9), 5 out of 6 of the Home Economics subjects, 2 out of 4 of the Industrial Cooperative Training subjects, and 2 out of 3 Distributive Education subjects.

37. The number of black schools offering specific courses varied widely in the major subject areas. In the English area, there was one course that was offered by 244 schools, and one course which no black school offered; in Mathematics, as many as 244 schools offered one course and one course was offered by as few as 11 schools; in Science, as many as 232 schools offered one course and there were three courses each of which was offered by only two schools; in Foreign Languages, as many as 230 schools offered one course and three courses were each offered by only one school; in Business Education, as many as 214 schools offered one course and one course was offered by nine schools; in the Agriculture and Home Economics areas there was a more even distribution of offerings; and in Social Studies, as many as 219 schools offered one course and one course was offered at 10 schools.

38. The uneven pattern of course offerings across the state indicates that only a very small percentage of black high school students had the opportunity to select other courses in addition to those which fulfilled the basic requirements.

39. There were 190 black high school librarians comprising 27.1% of all high school librarians in the state in 1963-64.

40. The average amount of money allocated per student for libraries for black students in two thirds of the black high schools was less than the $3.99 allocated per pupil for the state as a whole.

41. Of the 226 black high schools, 224 and 142 fielded boys and girls basketball teams respectively in 1963-64.

42. There were 88, 75, and 81 black high schools with Football, Baseball, and Track and Field teams, respectively in 1963-64.

43. Two black high schools had Golf teams and 16 had Tennis teams in 1963-64.

44. No black high school had a Wrestling, Cross Country, Swimming, or Soccer team.

Part IV

The Black High School

In order to gain a broader picture of the black high school in 1963-64, data was also obtained from sources other than the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction. The major sources of data presented in this section are (1) questionnaires sent to principals of formerly all black high schools, (2) questionnaires administered to teachers and special staff, parents, students, and community leaders, and (3) interviews with superintendents who had had all black high schools in their districts in 1963-64. The data will be presented in two major sections: (1) Background on the Black High School, based on data from the principals' questionnaires and (2) The All Black High School as Viewed by Individuals Involved With It, based on the data obtained from the interviews and questionnaires administered to the other groups. Information in the first section will cover a description of the high school setting, the students, the parents, the program structure of the high school, and extra-curricular activities. The second section will summarize the individuals' descriptions of the roles they played in the black high school, and their attitudes toward the black high school as an institution.

Background on the Black High School

In the spring of 1973, letters were sent to the superintendents of 151 school districts asking them to give the names of the all black high schools which had been operating in their districts in 1963-64, the name of the principal of each school in 1963-64, and the last year each of these schools had functioned as an all black high school, 108 responses were received, providing a list of 177 formerly all black high schools. Current addresses were obtained for 76 principals, 18 names were supplies without current addresses and 4 principals were listed as deceased.

Questionnaires were then mailed to the 76 principals for whom we had current addresses. Names of other principals were obtained from the 1963-64 Educational Directory of North Carolina and questionnaires were sent to them at their last known address. In total, 187 questionnaires were sent out, and 41 were received. Cards were then mailed to remined the principals to return the questionnaire, resulting in the receipt of 17 more questionnaires. 2 were received too late for processing. The combined mailings resulted in the receipt of 58 questionnaires that were processed in the fall of 1973. This section presents the data furnished by the principals in their completed questionnaires.

The High School Setting

Table 33

Geographic Location of the School in the State

Location	% of Principals Responding
East	40
West	17
North	12
South	12
Center	16

Table 34

Location of the School by Size of Community

Size of Community	% of Principals Responding
Rural Area	31
Small town (2,000 or less)	28
Moderate-sized town (2,000-50,000)	40
Suburb of a large city	0
Large city (50,000 or more)	2

Table 35

Student Population by Size of Home Community

Size of Community	% of Principals Responding
Rural Area	60
Small town (2,000 or less)	12
Moderate-sized town (2,000-50,000)	24
Suburb of large city	0
Large city (50,000)	2

Table 36

Percent of Blacks in Community

% of Blacks in Community	% of Principals Responding
Under 10%	3
10-30%	22
30-50%	31
50-70%	14
70-100%	20

Table 33 indicates that most of the principals (40%) answering the questionnaire administered schools located in the eastern part of North Carolina. Table 34 shows that 59% of these black high schools were in rural areas or in small towns of less than 2,000. Table 35 reveals that the majority (60%) of the students in these high schools came from rural areas.

As indicated in Table 36, only 3% of the principals reported a black population of less than 10% of the total in the community in which the school was located. 53% reported that the black population was 10 to 50% of the total.

Table 37

Number of Teachers Per School Prior to Desegregation

Number of Teachers	% of Principals Responding
0-5	2
6-10	0
11-15	5
16-20	9
21-25	14
26-30	12
31-40	38
41-50	14
51+	5

Table 38

Percent of Teachers with Bachelor's Degrees

% of Teachers	% of Principals Responding
0	0
Under 10	2
10-25	0
25-50	0
50-75	9
75-100	90

Table 39

Percent of Teachers with Master's Degrees

% of Teachers	% of Principals Responding
Under 10	29
10-25	52
25-50	14
50-75	3
75-100	2

Table 40

Percent of Teacners Holding an "A" Certificate

% of Teachers	% of Principals Responding
Under 10	2
10-25	0
25-50	0
50-75	5
75-100	93

Table 41

Student-Teacher Ratio in Formerly All-Black High Schools

Student-Teacher Ratio	% of Principals Responding
20 or less: 1	12
21, 22: 1	7
23, 24: 1	9
25, 26: 1	17
27, 28: 1	7
29, 30: 1	22
31, 32: 1	9
33, 34: 1	0
35 or more	10

According to Table 37, 16% of the principals reported that they had 20 or fewer teachers on their staff. The largest percentage (64%) indicated that they had from 21 to 40 teachers on their staff. Table 38 indicates that 90% of the principals reported that 75-100% of their teachers had bachelor's degrees. 52% of the principals reported that 10-25% of their teachers held master's degrees, according to Table 39. Table 40 indicates that only 2% of the principals reported that less than 10% of their teachers held an "A" certificate, while 93% said that 75-100% of their teachers held an "A" certificate. According to Table 41, the student teacher ratio ranged from less than 20:1 to more than 35:1. Only 28% of the principals reported a student-teacher ratio of less than 25:1, while 65% of them reported a student-teacher ratio of 25:1 or greater.

Table 42

Accreditation Status of the High School

Status	% of Principals Responding
Full Accreditation	74
Provisional Accreditation	14
Conditional Accreditation	2
Not Accredited	10

Table 43

Last Year High School Operated as an All-Black Unit

Last Year of Operation	% of Principals Responding	Cumulative %
1965	3	3
1966	5	8
1967	12	20
1968	17	37
1969	38	75
1970	17	92
1971	2	94
1972	3	97

Table 44

Grade Levels Included in Formerly All-Black High Schools After Desegregation

Grade Levels	% of Principals Responding
K, 1-6	16
K, 1-8	12
K, 1-9	2
4-5, 4-7, 4-8, 4-9, 5-9	12
7-8, 7-9	21
1-12	0
9-12	5
10-12	2
One Grade Only	10

According to the data in Table 42, 75% of the principals reported that their schools were fully accredited, while only 10% reported that their schools were not accredited. As indicated in Table 43, 97% of the principals reported that their schools had ceased to operate as all black schools by 1972. Only 7% of the principals reported that their formerly all black schools contained grades 9-12 after desegregation, as indicated in Table 44.

The High School Students

Table 45

Percent of Students from One-Parent Homes

% of Students	% of Principals Responding
Under 10	28
10-25	38
25-50	22
50-75	2
75-100	2

Table 46

Percent of Students from Homes in Which Parents Were Churchgoers

% of Students	% of Principals Responding
Under 10	2
10-25	3
25-50	26
50-75	45
75-100	14

Table 47

Average Marriage Age of Black Youth

Marriage Ages	% Male	% Female
Under 16	0	0
16-18	3	14
19-21	52	62
22-25	34	14
Over 25	7	5

Table 48

Percent of Students Dropping out Before Completing 12th Grade

% of Students	% of Principals Responding
Under 10	24
10-25	45
25-50	26
50-75	3
75-100	0

Table 49

Percent of Students Working Part-time While Attending High School

% of Students	% of Principals Responding
Under 10	48
10-25	33
25-50	7
50-75	3
75-100	0

Table 50

Post Secondary Education of High School Graduates

% Attending	College % of Principals Responding	Technical Training % of Principals Responding
Under 10%	12	47
10-25%	52	41
25-50%	33	12
50-75%	3	0
75-100%	0	0

Table 51

Percent of Students Remaining in the Community After Graduation

% of Students	% of Principals Responding
Under 10	24
10-25	31
25-50	21
50-75	16
75-100	0

According to Table 45, 38% of the principals reported that 10 to 25% of the students came from one-parent homes, while only 4% reported that 50-100% of the students came from one-parent homes. The majority of principals (59%) indicated that 50-100% of the students came from homes in which the parents were churchgoers, as shown in Table 46. The average marriage age of black youth is shown in Table 47. 52% of the principals reported that males married between the ages of 19 and 21, while 62% reported the females married at this age. By the time they were 21, 55% of the males and 76% of the females were married. As indicated in Table 48, almost half of the principals (45%) reported that 10 to 25% of their students dropped out before completing the 12th grade, while one-fourth (24%) reported a dropout rate of less than 10%, and one-fourth (26%) reported a dropout rate of 25 to 50%. Almost half of the principals (48%) reported that less than 10% of the students worked part-time while attending high school. Only 3% of the principals indicated that over half of their graduating seniors went on to college or technical training schools, as shown in Table 50. Approximately half of the principals (52%) indicated that 10 to 25% of the students went on to college, and almost half of the principals (41%) indicated that 10 to 25% of the students went on to technical training schools. According to Table 51, one-fourth of the principals (24%) reported that less than 10% of their students remained in the community after graduation, while approximately half (52%) reported that 10 to 50% of the students remained in the community.

Parents

Table 52

Parental Interest in Public School Activity
Reported by Principals

Parental Interests	Percentages Reported by Principals				
	Under 10%	10-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
Good grades	3	5	22	45	21
Extracurricular Activity	7	16	40	21	14
School Activity	2	36	45	12	3
Community Organizations	14	45	28	9	2

Table 53

Extent to Which Parents Were Informed About Local and
Regional Political Events

Degree Informed	% of Principals Responding
Wholly uninformed	0
Not very well informed	55
Fairly well informed	34
Very well informed	7

The data in Table 52 indicate that 45% of the principals felt that approximately 50 to 75% of the parents were interested in their children obtaining good grades. 40% reported that 25 to 50% of the parents were interested in their children's involvement in extracurricular activities, while 45% reported that 25-50% were interested in the activities of the school. A smaller percentage, 10 to 25% of the parents, were reported by 45% of the principals to be actively interested in other community organizations. As indicated in Table 53, over half of the principals (55%) reported that the parents were not very well informed concerning local and regional political events, while 34% felt that they were fairly well informed.

Program Structure of the Black High School

When black high school principals were asked about the curriculum departments that comprised their schools, their responses were varied. The table below shows the percentage of principals who reported the existence of the various curriculum departments in their schools.

Subject Matter Departments in Black High Schools

Curriculum Departments in Schools	% of Principals Responding Yes
(1) Mathematics	97
(2) Social Studies	97
(3) English	95
(4) Home Economics	93
(5) Science	93
(6) Foreign Language	84
(7) Business Training	84
(8) Music	81
(9) Industrial Arts	71
(10) Technical Training	28
(11) Art	26
(12) Any Others	28

In the case of five departments more than 90% of the principals indicated that their schools had such departments. In three other cases more than 80% of the principals indicated that such departments existed in their schools. 71% of the principals indicated that they had an Industrial Arts department in their schools and in three other instances, fewer than 30% of the principals reported the existence of such departments in their schools.

Administrative Support

52% of the principals reported that they had no administrative support, 22% indicated that they had one assistant, 9% had 2 assistants, and 2% had 4 assistants. None of the principals reported having 3 assistants.

Grade Levels of Schools

75% of the principals reported that their schools included grades 1-12, 2% reported that their schools included grades 5-12, 7% reported that their

schools included grades 7-12, 2% reported that their schools included grades 9-12, and 2% reported that their schools included grades 10-12.

Student Enrollment

Student Enrollment in Black High Schools Prior to Desegregation

Enrollment Size	% of Principals Reporting Enrollment Levels	
	Total Enrollment	Enrollment Grades 9-12
0-99	2	2
100-199	2	9
200-299	0	24
300-399	0	10
400-499	5	22
500-599	9	7
600-699	10	9
700-799	10	5
800-899	16	12
900-999	9	
1000-1099	10	
1100-1199	7	
1200-1299	9	
1300-1399	2	
1400-1499	2	
1500-1599	2	
1600-1699	3	
1700+	2	

9% of the principals reported that they had a total enrollment of fewer than 500 students in their school, 29% of the principals indicated that they had from 500-799 students, 25% of them said that they had from 800-899 students, and the remaining 37% of the principals reported that they had more than 1000 students in their schools. Only 7% of the principals reported that they had more than 1500 students in their schools.

11% of the principals reported a high school enrollment of less than 200, 34% of the principals reported a high school enrollment from 200-399 students, 29% reported a high school enrollment from 400-599 students, and 14% reported a high school enrollment from 600-799 students. Only 12% of the principals reported high school enrollments of 800 or more students.

21% of the principals reported that their schools graduated fewer than 40 students in the last graduating class prior to desegregation, 32% reported a graduating class of from 40-79 students, 24% reported a graduating class of from 80-119 students, and 15% reported a graduating class of more than 120 students.

Number of Teachers in High School

31% of the principals indicated that they had 10 or fewer teachers in grades 9-12, 29% reported from 11-20 teachers at that level, 21% reported from 21-30 teachers, and 12% had from 31-40 teachers. Only 5% of the principals reported having a teaching staff of 41 or more teachers at the high school level.

Student Social Activities

19% of the principals indicated that they had from 1 to 2 non-formal dances annually, 45% had from 3-6 dances annually, 18% had from 7-12 dances annually, and 8% indicated that there were 13 dances or more annually. 10% of the principals reported that fewer than 30 students attended each dance, 26% reported an attendance of from 30-49 students, 30% reported an attendance of from 50 69 students, and 12% reported a regular attendance of 70 or more students per dance.

69% of the principals reported that there was at least one formal dance held at their schools annually, 16% reported that they held 2 such dances, 3% reported that they held 3 such dances and another 3% reported that 4 such dances were held.

When asked about attendance at formal dances 16% of the principals reported that 29 or fewer students attended, 28% reported an attendance at such dances of from 30-49 students, 21% reported from 50 to 69 students, and 8% reported an attendance of 70 or more students at such dances.

64% of the principals indicated that they did not hold annual beauty contests in their schools, and 16% indicated that they held at least one such event annually.

Community Sponsored Student Groups

Number of Student Groups	% of Principals Responding	
	Church Sponsored	Community Organization Sponsored
0	60	55
1	7	5
2	3	3
3	0	0
4	2	0
5		

The largest percentage of principals reported that a majority of churches (60%) and community organizations (55%) did not sponsor students groups in the school. 7% of the principals reported that churches sponsored at least 1 such group, 3% indicated that churches sponsored 2 student groups and 2% said the churches sponsored at least 4 different groups in the school. 5% of the principals reported that other community organizations sponsored at least 1 student group in the school, and 3% reported that these kinds of organizations sponsored 2 student groups in the school.

Extracurricular Activities

Table 54

Percent of Students Participating in Extracurricular Activities

% of Students	% of Principals Responding
Less than 10%	3
10-25%	17
25-50%	38
50-75%	17
75-100%	19

Table 55

Estimated Correlations Between Extracurricular Activities and Scholastic Achievement

Correlation Estimates	% of Principals Responding	
	Athletic and Scholastic Achievement	Extracurricular Leadership and Scholastic Achievement
Zero	3	5
.25	22	7
.50	34	26
.75	24	48
1.00	3	2

Table 56a

Student Participation in Athletic and Nonathletic Extracurricular Activity

Kinds of Student Involvement	% of Principals Reporting the Extent of Student Participation				
	Under 10%	10-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
Involvement in more than one athletic activity	12	38	24	17	3
Involvement in both athletic and non-athletic activity	16	40	17	19	3
Involvement in more than one non-athletic activity	12	29	34	17	3
Students holding leadership positions in more than one sport	40	31	21	5	0
Students holding leadership positions in more than one non-athletic activity	28	36	24	9	0
Excellent athletes who were dropouts prior to graduation	91	5			
Leaders in non-athletic student activities who were dropouts prior to graduation	84	12			
Excellent athletes attending college	40	34	14	3	5
Leaders in non-athletic student activities attending college	22	31	24	14	5
Student leaders in extra-curricular activities remaining in or returning to local communities as leaders	50	28	9	3	5

Table 56b

Parent Participation in Extracurricular Activities

Kinds of Parent Involvement	% of Principals Reporting the Extent of Parent Participation				
	Under 10%	10-25%	25-50%	50-75%	75-100%
Parental Involvement in P.T.A.	12	34	34	12	2
Active Parents in P.T.A. who were active in other community and religious activities	3	19	22	22	28

36% of the principals reported that more than half of their student body participated in extracurricular activities, as indicated in Table 54. The largest percentage of principals responding (38%) placed the percentage of students participating as somewhere between 25 and 50%. The data in Table 55 reveal that principals generally believed that there was a high positive correlation when athletic achievement and extracurricular leadership are correlated with scholastic achievement. Tables 56a and 56b provide data about student and parent participation in the extracurricular activities of the school.

The Variation and Distribution of Extracurricular Activities

Table 57 provides data on the extracurricular activities of the black high school. 12 of the 44 activities were conducted in at least 75% of the schools, and 24 of these activities were conducted in at least 50% of the schools. Only 12 of the extracurricular activities were found in less than 25% of the schools.

Table 57

The Distribution of Extracurricular Activities as Reported by Black Principals

Extracurricular Activities or Events	Percent of Principals Responding		
	Yes	No	No Response
1) Football Team	45	50	5
2) Basketball Team	93	3	3
3) Track Team	45	45	10
4) Swim Team	2	91	7
5) Baseball Team	67	26	7
6) Tennis Team	10	83	7
7) Wrestling Team	7	86	7
8) Gymnastics Team	7	84	9
9) Girls Athletic Association	43	48	8
10) Organized Intramural Sports After School	62	33	5
11) Modern Dance Club	31	64	5
12) Swim Club	0	95	5
13) Other Sports Clubs	7	83	10
14) Drama Group	76	17	7
15) Cheerleaders	95	2	3
16) Math Club	64	31	5
17) Business Club	59	33	8
18) New Homemakers Club	93	3	4
19) New Farmers Club	74	22	4
20) Library Club	84	10	6
21) Health Occupations Club	17	74	9
22) Majorettes	67	27	6
23) Pom-pom Girls	22	67	11
24) Band	71	28	1
25) Orchestra	3	91	6
26) Men's Glee Club	33	62	5
27) Women's Glee Club	34	60	6
28) Mixed Chorus	90	9	1
29) School Newspaper	71	26	3
30) Yearbook	84	12	4
31) Foreign Language Clubs	67	28	5
32) Science Club	84	14	2
33) Art Clubs	17	78	5
34) Photograph Club	19	74	7
35) Girls Club	12	83	5
36) Debate Club	28	67	5
37) Student Council	95	0	5
38) P.T.A.	91	2	7
39) Honor Societies	74	22	4
40) Homecoming King	36	52	12

Table 57 continued

Extracurricular Activities or Events	% of Principals Responding Yes	No	No Response
41) Homecoming Queen	97	0	3
42) Frequent School Dances	72	22	6
43) Formal Dances in Formal Setting	90	3	7
44) Negro History Week Celebration	86	9	5

Table 58

Interscholastic Team Membership in Regional Conferences

Teams	% of Principals Indicating Team Membership in Regional Conferences
Football	45
Basketball	86
Baseball	50
Track	31
All other teams	7

Table 59

Interscholastic Team Participation in State Competition Championships

Teams	% of Principals Indicating Team Participation in State Championships
Football	26
Basketball	78
Baseball	24
Track	14
All other teams	3

Table 60

State-Wide Competition in Extracurricular Activities

Extracurricular Events	% of Principals Reporting Participation in State-Wide Competition in Extracurricular Activities	
	Activities	Contests
Debate Club	19	16
Drama Club	34	36
Band	43	43
Orchestra	3	0
Chorus	47	50
All other groups	12	9

A large percentage of black principals indicated that their interscholastic teams belonged to regional conferences as shown in Table 58. The largest percentage (86%) of principals reported that their basketball teams belonged to regional conferences. Similarly, in regard to interscholastic teams competing for the state championship, (Table 59) the majority of principals (78%) reported that their basketball teams had participated in state championship play. The data in Table 60 concern the number of schools participating in state-wide competition in non-athletic extracurricular activities. The largest percentage of principals reported that their chorus participated in state-wide activities (47%) and contests(50%). 43% of the principals reported that their bands participated in state-wide activities and contests. 34% of the principals reported that the drama club participated in state-wide activities, while 36% reported their drama clubs' involvement in state-wide contests.

Support for Extracurricular Activities

Table 61

School Spirit

Degree of School Spirit	% of Principals Responding
Low	2
Moderate	16
Quite high	31
High	28
Very high	21

Table 62

Parental Involvement in School Activities

Degree of Involvement	% of Principals Responding
Very Strong	9
Strong	29
Moderate	48
Poor	7

Table 63

Community Support for and Interest in Athletic Teams

Degree of Support/Interest	% of Principals Responding
Very Strong	33
Strong	33
Moderate	31
Poor	5

Financial Support for Extracurricular Activities

Table 64

Reported Sources of Financial Support for Extracurricular Activities

Financial Sources	% of Principals Responding
Bake Sales	7
Concessions on school premises	26
Vending machines	5
Contributions from community organizations	9
Community fund-raising drives	38
Other means	9

Table 65

Use of the School for Community-related Meetings and Organizations

Frequency of use	% of Principals Responding
Very often	19
Often	26
Sometimes	41
Rarely	7
Never	2

The majority of principals (80%) rated the school spirit at their schools as quite high to very high, as shown in Table 61. Almost half of the principals (48%) reported that parental involvement in school activities was moderate (Table 62). Community support for and interest in the schools' athletic teams, shown in Table 63, was rated as strong or very strong by 66% of the principals. Table 64 indicates the sources of financial support for extra-curricular activities. The two major sources were concessions on the school premises (26%) and community fund-raising drives (38%). Finally, when black principals were asked how often school facilities were used for community-related meetings and organizations, (Table 65), 45% indicated that they were used often to very often. It is almost impossible, however, to quantify this measure since "often" and "very often" meant different things in different places.

The extensiveness of the black high school's extracurricular activity program was more or less dependent on geographic location (city or rural) and size (large or small). Basic to most high schools was some kind of athletic program, usually basketball and/or football. Those activities in which many students participated across the state included band, vocal music, drama, and student council. Debating was also a statewide activity but did not sustain the interest of all schools. In addition, students were involved in a number of other activities such as majorettes, cheerleaders, yearbook, school newspaper, service clubs, and content clubs at many schools. The black high school's extracurricular activity program seems to have reached its peak in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Generally, those activities that were spasmodic in terms of interest and degree of participation and were locally sponsored (were not involved in any competition between schools) were less likely to make strong and lasting impressions on most people asked to describe how that particular activity functioned in their school in 1963-64.

Below are listed some of the major extracurricular activities of the black high school, with descriptions of their function, membership, and means of financial support.

Band

Questionnaires were filled out by eleven band directors of formerly all black high schools, ten of whom had bachelors degrees in instrumental music and three of whom had masters degrees in music education. All of the band directors indicated that their schools had had concert and marching bands, eight also had pep bands, five had jazz bands as well, and three had other organizations such as woodwind and brass ensembles, symphonic band, or

beginners band in addition. Membership in the concert band ranged from 40 to 85 students, in the marching band from 50 to 125 students, while in the other band organizations membership averaged about 25 students. In most schools the concert and marching bands rehearsed daily; other groups had either no scheduled rehearsals or met one to five times weekly. In regard to performance, the band directors reported that their concert bands performed from three to sixteen times annually, with six performances as the average, while the marching band performed twelve to twenty-two times a year. The other organizations had from one to twenty-two performances a year, with groups like the pep band which played at athletic events performing the most often.

According to the band directors, all their students had previous band experience in the junior high school; five reported that students had also taken part in an elementary school instrumental music program, and one said that his students had previously taken private lessons. In general, there was little opportunity for the students to study privately in high school unless lessons were provided by the band director. All of the band directors indicated that some of the money for the bands' expenses was provided by fund raising drives carried on by students and the community. Five directors also cited the school budget as paying for some of the expenses, particularly music and instruments. Money for band uniforms was often obtained through fund raising activities, but in all cases except one, in which the Band Parents owned the uniforms, the uniforms were donated to the school. All the schools owned at least some of the instruments, usually the larger ones. At some schools students paid rental fees to use the instruments while others lent them free of charge. The band directors reported that from 10 to 90% of the students owned their own instruments. All of the schools but one said

that they participated in state and local band contests, and one school's marching band competed at the Cherry Blossom Parade in Washington, D.C. All of the band directors indicated that majorettes were associated with the band, and many had baton twirlers, flag bearers, and letter girls as well.

Choral Groups

In choir students often received instruction in sight-reading and they performed a wide range of music. When choir was a part of the curriculum classes in boys and girls chorus as well as in mixed chorus were held daily. Evening and afternoon rehearsals were held when preparing for performances such as concerts and festivals. Many groups participated annually in their district festival and could advance to the state festival if they received top ratings. In general, the choral groups were open to any interested student. At an average sized school about 80 to 90 students participated in the program with 40 to 60 students in the top performing group. Financial support for the choral groups was obtained through the school's miscellaneous fund and through individual assessments made by the principal of students and/or faculty.

Student Council

The student council served as the governing body of the school from the students' standpoint. In general, it provided (1) a forum for students, (2) an opportunity for students to develop leadership ability and learn parliamentary procedures, (3) an opportunity for students to learn through self-direction, (4) a bridge between the students and the administration and faculty, (5) activities and projects for students, and (6) activities designed to foster good public relations. The student council at most schools was affiliated with the North Carolina Association of Student Councils, an all black group, and the National Association of Student Councils which was composed of high schools throughout the country regardless of the racial

make-up of the school. Each summer leadership workshops were sponsored by the State Association. The student council usually met once a week after school with 85 to 100% attendance. The council was composed of one representative elected from each homeroom class, and the president was elected by the entire student body. Financial support for the council was often obtained through a voluntary student council fee, and through profits from concession stands at athletic events.

Debate

The debate club provided the opportunity for students to improve voice control, diction, stage decorum and to build confidence. The students competed with other members of the club, and many schools competed in state and local debate contests. The group was open to any interested student, and membership averaged about 25 to 30 members yearly. Financial support generally came from school miscellaneous funds.

Dramatics

Most drama groups were affiliated with the North Carolina High School Drama Association. The ultimate aim of the group was to provide varied meaningful experiences in acting, staging, and costuming. In general, two to five hours after school daily and five to seven hours on weekends were required to prepare for a production. Many groups participated in annual District Drama Festivals. The drama group was open to any interested student; often as many as 60 or 70 students were members. Once he participated in the activities of the group, a student had the opportunity to be inducted into the National Thespian Society, an honorary group, based on points earned in performing and in working on the productions. Financial support for the group came mainly from ticket sales.

New Farmers of America (NFA)

NFA was an organization for boys aged 15 and above studying vocational agriculture designed to assist them in the development of leadership and other related abilities, and was closely related to their classroom work. The group met twice a month during the school day and often daily for one hour after school; when preparing for contests three to six hours of meetings a week were often required. The groups competed annually in parliamentary procedure, tool identification, public speaking, quartet singing, livestock and soil judging, and forestry contests. Membership included those enrolled in vocational agriculture classes and usually averaged about 80 students. Financial support came from dues and fund raising projects.

New Homemakers of America (NHA)

NHA was an organization for girls enrolled or formerly enrolled in home economics, and was designed to provide meaningful experiences for students through various activities such as preparing for an annual Mother-Daughter banquet. Membership in the group averaged about 50 students, and financial support came from dues and special fund raising projects.

4-H Club

The 4-H Club, no longer run by the school as of 1960, was actually a county-wide organization. The club was designed to provide economic, social, physical, and spiritual experience for the students through individual and group projects. County, district, and state competition in areas such as clothing and livestock, as well as dress reviews, public speaking, and talent shows were sponsored by the 4-H organization. Approximately 100 project areas and 30 activities were available for students. The 4-H club was open to youth from 9 to 19. More girls than boys were usually involved, and more students participated in rural areas than in urban areas. Financial support was provided through the Agricultural Extension Agency.

National Honor Society

The National Honor Society was an organization composed of students whose average was "B" or higher. It functioned as a service group which helped teachers, students, and the community. Membership was open to students in the 11th and 12th grades, and generally included 5 to 10% of the school. Financial support was obtained through membership dues and special projects.

Library Club

The library club was a service group which aided the librarian in issuing and checking in books, taking inventory, and preparing new acquisitions for shelving. Any student could join, and membership averaged about 7 to 12 members. Many library clubs were affiliated with the North Carolina Student Library Association, and money was raised through dues.

Cheerleaders

Cheerleaders were often an important adjunct to the high school athletic program, functioning to keep school spirit high at basketball and football games. Membership was determined by tryout, with the selection being made by an advisor or a faculty committee. Financial support for the group came from school funds and individual assessments.

Yearbook

Student involvement in producing a school yearbook varied greatly from school to school. Working on the yearbook gave students an opportunity to gain experience in the various facets of producing such a book, from soliciting ads to writing copy and preparing layouts. In general, only members of the senior class were involved in the production of the yearbook. Financial support was obtained through the sale of ads and through student fees.

Content Clubs

Many schools had organizations of students with similar interests in an academic area for the purpose of providing enriching experiences and expanding on classroom work through related activities and projects. Across the state, most of these clubs were organized in the area of French, and sometimes in math and science. Membership was open to any student with a strong interest in the area, and generally ranged from 10 to 20 members. Any financial support required by the group was obtained through fund raising projects.

Majorettes

Majorettes were expected to perform with the marching band and as a performing unit on other occasions. Training classes were often held for 3 to 4 weeks in the summer prior to selection. Practices were held after school daily, and many hours were spent preparing for special performances if the group participated in state clinics. The group usually consisted of 10 to 13 girls selected by a judging board, and it was often required that they be members of the band. Financial support for the group came mainly from individual assessments and group projects.

School Newspaper

While many schools had newspapers, some were published as often as once a week and some as seldom as twice a year. The involvement of students in this activity was dependent, then, on the size of the newspaper and its frequency of publication. Any student was allowed to work on the paper, although English students and typing students were most often involved. Money was obtained through the sale of ads, through student fees, and through the sale of the paper itself.

The All Black High School as Viewed by Individuals Involved with It

To obtain a different perspective on the formerly all black high school, interviews were conducted with superintendents, teachers and special staff, parents, and leaders of the black community. In addition, questionnaires were sent to individuals who had been students in all black high schools at least during part of their high school careers. In general, the comments of all these individuals centered on the roles they had played in the all black high schools, the advantages and disadvantages of the dual school system, and the effects of the loss of the black high school. Following are summarized the opinions of these five groups:

Superintendents

In discussing the black high school, all the superintendents commented on its financial problems, the question of how the black school compared with the white school in facilities, programs and faculty, and the role of the black school in the community.

In the 1930's the state government took over the responsibility for funding the operation of the public schools. This meant that approximately 70% of each school district's budget came from the state, with the rest provided by local funds. While black and white schools were thus made somewhat equal by state policy, differences existed between them in regard to such things as teachers' salary supplements, and coaches' supplements, both paid for out of local funds. For example, in 1963-64 the black basketball coach in one town earned a $300 supplement while the white coach earned $1800. Since money from the state was to be used for the operation of the schools and not for capital improvements, it was up to the local school districts to provide funds for new buildings and for remodeling old ones. The effects of this policy differed from district to district, but in general it resulted in

inferior facilities for black schools. This was due, in part, to the fact that the white power structure at the local level put pressure on the central administration to spend most of the local funds on white schools, and, in part, to the fact that many districts that were predominantly black were just too poor to raise much money through taxation at the local level. One other policy which put the black high school at a disadvantage was that of basing the allotment of money to an administrative unit on average daily attendance. This meant that a white school with 95% attendance could basically get the money in the state budget to which it was entitled while a black school, which during certain seasons of the year might have had attendance as low as 50%, would lose teachers as well as funds for supplies for the students.

Because of this shortage of funds, the black principal was forced to find money elsewhere for school improvements, supplies, athletic programs, and possibly even teachers' salaries. Much of this money came from Booster Clubs, P.T.A. fund raising drives, and "benevolent" funds to which individuals in the community were asked to contribute. Most of the superintendents did not seem to know much about these hidden budgets, but they were apparently tolerated because they were essential to the operation of the black high school.

Black schools were often described as "tight ships" run under authoritarian rule. While "this autocratic, dictatorial way of doing things gets speedier results than anything else, this tight ship was used to keep the school in order rather than to effect curriculum improvement." One superintendent went on to say that it was probably true that the black schools enforced their rules very stringently, but he suggested that the rules they set differed somewhat from the rules set in the white schools. Rules dealing with tardiness and truancy were not enforced.

> "They were handicapped with the lack of attendance. It's awfully hard to enforce attendance rules when you really have little control over it. They tried to control it; they'd even go around and find out why the children were working when they should be in school, but they were limited in that they'd get reprisals if they tried to enforce certain regulations. They couldn't set a rule that if you damage or lose something you're going to have to pay for it, because in some cases there may not be resources to collect. They were masters at knowing what rules were enforceable and what rules they couldn't enforce. They couldn't enforce things like attendance and tardiness so they didn't set rules regarding these things...In other words, they set rules that were reasonable to that group of students."

Most of the superintendents viewed the black school as weak and inferior. Several believed that black teachers, although well-qualified on paper, were in reality not as well-qualified as white teachers. The athletic program was described by one superintendent as good, but as not in the same league, with those in the white schools. The calibre of the players was high, but they had fewer coaches, less equipment, less time, and also a different attitude toward sports. "They played football because they enjoyed playing football, and they normally played it well as individuals, but they did not, in my opinion, ever get the discipline necessary to form a team."

Several of the superintendents felt that the high schools did not meet the needs of the students, particularly in regard to course offerings. The dropout rate, described by one superintendent as about 50% from the 8th grade enrollment to graduating seniors, "might seem to indicate that we were not meeting the needs of all the students." Another superintendent suggested that the problem in his district, where the curriculum hadn't changed since 1933, applied to the whites as well as the blacks. None of the students in his district had been able to get any vocational training in school beyond what was offered in the standard home economics and agricultural courses. Recognition of this need led eventually to the establishment of a technical high school in this district with courses such as masonry, health occupations, carpentry, and commercial cooking.

Despite its academic shortcomings, the black high school played an important role as the focal point of the black community. It served as the rallying point and meeting place for political and social community affairs. In many small towns the school was the only place where 200 or 300 people could gather for a dance or meeting. There was much more participation from the black commuunity than from the white in activities dealing with the high school. This might be attributed to the fact that there were fewer outside activities available to blacks than there were for whites at that stage. The school provided more opportunities for the black people to come together. In other words, a P.T.A. meeting became a major social event that blacks looked forward to attending.

The advent of integration was viewed by the superintendents as having both advantages and disadvantages. Desegregation not only destroyed the black/white dichotomy, but it also destroyed the poor white school and the influence of the school. The chief advantage of integration was generally agreed to be this equalization of facilities, instruction, and funds. The school consolidations that usually accompanied integration were partly responsible for the improved quality of programs and instruction since larger schools could attract better staff and provide more resources.

On the negative side, both black and white students may have felt that they lost the school that used to belong to them. Another disadvantage of the integrated system is the fact that many black students lost opportunities for leadership roles which they had had under the segregated system. One of the superintendents pointed out that the problem here is not a problem of desegregation but rather one of consolidation. "You've reduced the number of schools and if you do that you're going to reduce the number of leadership roles."

Perhaps one of the most important effects of integration was the loss of the school as the focal point of the black community. The school could no longer be used for social functions by either white or black groups. Black parents and the black community as a whole could no longer identify with the integrated school and they turned away from it. Unfortunately, nothing has come along to replace the black school as the central unifying force in the black community.

Teachers and Special Staff

Nine teachers and special staff members were interviewed. Of these, there were five men and four women ranging in age from 32 to 53. All had been born in the South and had at least a bachelor's degree. These nine were selected because they had been coaches, band directors, music teachers, or directors of other extra-curricular activities in the school. All described the student participation in these activities as excellent. The organizations were ones that the black community identified with proudly. Boosters' Clubs and the P.T.A. worked actively to raise money to support these extra-curricular activities. The school was the cultural center of the community, and with the exception of the church, all that was happening for youth and adults centered around school programs.

Despite the advantages of integration, such as better facilities and more funds, many of these teachers saw integration as being more to the students' disadvantage. "The all-black school afforded a haven for the black students and a community-center for the black parents. The average and below average black students have no ties or feelings of belonging to the now integrated school." Fewer black students now participate in activities, partly because they do not identify with the school, and partly, some of these teachers feel, because they are not encouraged to participate as they were in the past. The black students are now "segregated in an integrated

school." Lack of student involvement means, of course, that the parents no longer have an opportunity to assist their children or to express themselves through school-related activities, as they once did.

Parents

Twenty-six parents were interviewed, ranging in age from 35 to 65. All but four were born in North Carolina, and those four were born elsewhere in the South. Thirteen of the parents had been raised on farms, three in small towns, and eight in moderate-sized cities. They ranged in educational background from many parents with an elementary school education to one parent with a bachelor's degree and two with master's degrees. In terms of income, 12 earned less than $5,000 a year, 7 earned $5,000 to $6,999, and the highest income was in the $12,000 to $12,999 bracket. Most of the parents had children who had graduated from all-black schools and some had children who had graduated from integrated schools.

When questioned about their participation as parents in the extra-curricular activities of the school, all but three said they had been involved in activities such as P.T.A., Band Boosters, Band Mothers, and other fund raising activities. Most of these parents also participated in other community organizations that were unrelated to the school.

In talking about the advantages and disadvantages of integration, parents were not in agreement about whether or not their children were getting a better education under the integrated system. Many felt that the school facilities were better now, that there was more money for instructional supplies, and that the curriculum was better. These advantages were offset by several disadvantages which they saw as resulting from integration. Several parents suggested that the segregated school had been located closer to the students' homes. All-black schools gave the students a sense of solidarity.

They had been proud of their schools and their accomplishments then, but now they had lost interest in many of the activities since they no longer identified with the school. Communication among parents, teachers, and students was not as open as it had been under the segregated system. Perhaps most important to the parents was the loss of the school as the center of the community. As one parent said, "activities there were not just school activities but they were for the whole community, and we looked forward to them." Another said "we miss the Glee Club, the Better Speech Club, all the plays we had." "We no longer have the opportunity to use effectively some of the talents we were so proud of," one parent added. In short, the loss of black schools has meant abolishing the school-related activities for parents rather than consolidating them. Parents no longer feel a part of the decision-making process of the school.

Students

Questionnaires were sent to 30 students who had graduated from high schools between 1962 and 1973. Of these, 24 had graduated from all black high schools and six from integrated high schools, although these six had attended all black high schools previously. Most of the students had been active in at least one extra-curricular activity in high school; many had participated in several. Generally, they believed that participation in these activities contributed to their education, taught them to interact with others, and was one of the most enjoyable aspects of their high school experience. Some of the students felt that in the black high school they had better communication with the teachers and more opportunity to participate in extra-curricular activities. While the integrated high school provided better facilities and more funds, it also deprived the black students of their sense of identification with the school and gave them a feeling of alienation, leading to decreased participation in activities. Many of the students

recognized that their own lack of involvement in activities was accompanied by the withdrawal of their parents and the black community as a whole from the activities of the school. With integration the school lost its position as the focal point of the black community.

Community Leaders

Eighteen community leaders including black ministers, local politicians and city council members were interviewed to determine how they viewed the role of the school on the community, and the results of integration, and the advantages and disadvantages of the dual school system.

Most of those interviewed felt that the black school served as a rallying point, a social center, and an institution with which the black community could identify prior to integration, the black school had a close relationship with organizations within the community, sponsoring groups and providing a place for them to meet while these groups, in turn, often worked to raise money for the school.

The loss of the black school has meant several things to the black community. The public does not feel as close to the schools, and school pride and loyalty have diminished. There is no longer a central meeting place for the black community, or a unifying force which ties the community together as the black school did.

The community leaders felt that generally inter-and intra-community relations have changed very little. As one individual stated "relationships between persons cannot be enhanced as long as boundary lines such as race, economics, social and religious factors cause communities to be developed and maintained as clearly defined black and white communities."

Under the dual school system the people had more pride in their school and their community. Black students were known by their teachers and the administration and were encouraged to develop their capabilities. In the

all black school there were more opportunities to participate in school activities, thus giving these students more leadership experience. The curriculum and facilities of the all black school were limited, however. Under the dual school system public funds did not seem to be distributed fairly between black schools and white schools, and blacks were not involved in making policies which affected them.

Part V

The Black High School Principal: School Administrator, Superintendent, Supervisor, Politician, Employer, Family Counselor, Financial Advisor, and Community Leader.

The black high school principal played a number of roles that were outside the terms of his contract and specific training and were not of his choosing. In addition to his legal school and educational responsibilities, the black principal was expected to avoid antagonizing the white community and its power structure while providing services that facilitated the progress and interests of the black community. If he violated the expectations of the former, he would be unceremoniously removed and "black balled" as an educator, and if he violated the expectations of the latter, he would be ostracized and despised by those whom he served. In effect the black high school principal was always the man in the middle, expected to deliver something to his various publics who were in basic conflict over the products desired. The black principal was in a "no win" game that required a winning strategy if he were to justify his efforts as a professional educator, man, and citizen.

In this section we have tried to capture the various activities and expectations, and the apparent conflicts created in the roles played by black principals in North Carolina as they attempted to fulfill their responsibilities as professional educators serving the black community. While there are many methods which could have been chosen to complete the task, we decided that three major ways of dealing with the problem would best serve our present efforts. First, we will present a general discussion of the black high school principal's activities, problems and job characteristics based on information obtained from interviews with former principals and

former superintendents. Second, questionnaire data reported by a group of former principals will be presented and discussed. Third, we will discuss briefly each of the major roles played by black high school principals as part of the expectations imposed on them by their position.

General Background: Interviews with Former Principals

Perhaps the most striking thing revealed by the men who were formerly principals of all-black high schools was the degree of autonomy which they were allowed. This is true of rural schools such as Fuquay Springs Consolidated and also of black high schools in urban areas such as Chapel Hill. Time and again these principals pointed out that so long as things appeared to be running smoothly and the minimum requirements of the law were met, they were left alone. The operative word here is "appeared." One superintendent said to a black principal, "I don't know if you're ugly enough to keep order, but you're big enough." The principal concluded that it really did not matter what was being taught in the schools, the major aim of the black principals' role as it appeared to whites was to keep black children in line, to keep them in their place. In a very real sense this is what many of the principals said about their jobs in black high schools. They didn't all see it necessarily as a negative "keep them in their place" role. They believed it was their responsibility to maintain discipline in their schools. It was often this demonstrated ability which led troubled school districts in the early years of integration to call back many of these black principals to their posts from which they had been unceremoniously dumped a year or two before, to restore order.

Black principals saw maintaining discipline as only a part of their roles. They were most concerned with providing black youngsters with a decent education. Since the white run Central Office did not particularly care about this aspect of black schooling, it was in large part left up to the ingenuity of the black principal. And he usually needed a good deal of it too, since adequate funding was rarely forthcoming. Often this was due to the fact that allocations for per pupil expenditure were made on the basis of attendance figures taken in the early fall, right in the middle of the harvest. Many black children were needed at home during this time. Consequently even if allocations were made fairly, with all other things being equal, the total amount of money received per pupil by black high schools came to a smaller percentage figured against the total enrollment than was justified by attendance during the school year, excluding the early fall. And, of course, many black schools, which were at the mercy of the Central Office, did not receive even the share of funds to which they were entitled.

With this as their reality, black principals were faced with the task of providing sufficient supplies, adequate lunch programs, habitable buildings, functioning athletic programs, and various extracurricular activities. Literally, it might be said that successful black high school programs ran on 1/3 good will, 1/3 hard work, 1/3 funds.

Even though the black teachers were often better trained or more highly certified than whites, when they attempted to develop and implement up-to-date programs of instruction they had to cope with hand-me-down texts from the white schools as well as a far lower level of educational achievement and educational experiences in the homes of most black children.

Often black parents had completed school only to the fourth grade. They had no books or magazines around and they frequently didn't see what good further education would do their children in terms of providing greater economic opportunities. Working with this attitude from the home, black principals and teachers were the ones who had to supply the motivation and the prodding. One principal commented that getting 11th graders to read at a 9th grade level was more of an achievement than was realized since for so many students printed material was simply not an ordinary part of their home environment.

Just getting the children to school was a problem. Many children lived too far away to make walking to school possible and in rural areas there was no public transportation. In the late '20s and early '30s one principal remembered raising money to buy a school bus, maintain it, and pay its driver. When the state finally began providing buses in the mid-'30s, the new buses went to the whites and the old ones went to the blacks.

Principals were faced with the problem of providing some kind of lunch program for their schools. Many children would not have eaten at lunch time had food not been provided. Even before the relationship between protein-poor diet and poor learning abilities was discovered, providing lunches so that children would not go hungry was an important part of a principal's job. As one principal describes it:

> "We had a make-shift lunch room program and we'd go out and beg for collards greens and things like that...and old yellow grits... to make a lunch for those kids who didn't have anything, and those who could pay, paid, and (of) those who didn't have any money we said, 'find some way to feed that child'...."

The food was cooked and served by two women who gave their services for little or no money and:

"We felt just as proud having a lunchroom under the basement of a church as they feel now having more."

Another principal said that before his school had a lunch room, teachers and some of the older girls would cook hot soup on the pot-bellied stoves which were in each classroom to provide heat. Teachers, parents, and students would bring ingredients for the soup. When this school finally managed to get a lunchroom, the principal had to go on a fund-raising drive to solicit the funds necessary to buy the proper equipment for running the "lunchroom."

One thing that was checked by the Central Office, and this falls into the appearance category, was the general upkeep and sanitation of the buildings. As long as the buildings appeared to be in acceptable condition, it did not really matter that the heating system, say, was not really efficient. One principal says he frequently ended up having to stoke the furnace himself to keep it running. One principal found, and this was no rare occurrence, that after he and the others in the black community had knocked themselves out working to get a bond issue passed for new facilities that the new school was for the whites. All they were to get out of the deal were two additional rooms. They had wanted an auditorium and gymnasium and the superintendent had had the architect draw up the plans. But when it was presented to the board of education, it was decided that the black school didn't need such facilities. What it really needed was some more "pots and pans down there in that home economics room."

Another principal reported that he spent most of his time raising money to buy things which were given to whites. Money had to be found for band instruments, stage curtains, and playground equipment. Even most of the money for the upkeep and improvement of school grounds had to be raised from outside sources. And once money was found for upkeep and improvement, the staff and students had to pitch in to help because custodial help was so unevenly allocated.

Athletic programs were often as makeshift as the lunch programs. One principal discovered to his dismay that the gap in funding was larger than he realized when he later became principal of the integrated high school and gained access to old records of funding for athletics. While his school had been struggling along on a budget of about $1,000 a year, the white high school had had an athletics budget of $15,000. To supplement his small budget, he would organize fund raising drives. He found in his community that most of the money raised came from the white merchants, although the black community did contribute some too. As a result, though, of limited funds and facilities, his school and many others like it could only offer a few sports. Basketball, which requires less space than most sports, was the major sport in black high schools. Many schools did not have football teams, but all had basketball teams. These teams were often the source of great pride and if they were good enough, they competed in all-black statewide tournaments.

Extracurricular activities also suffered from lack of funds, not just in the school but in the community as well. A child who wanted to play in the band often would wait until the school could find some instrument, any instrument, for him to play, since his family was usually unable to provide him with one.

The principal was not only left alone in figuring out how to stretch what little money he did get, but he was often virtually given free reign in his selection of teachers. Where white principals in all-white schools had to accept those teachers selected by the Superintendent's Office, those teachers "recommended" (in reality, selected) by black principals for their high schools were almost always routinely okayed.

One principal recalled discovering the formula by which teachers were supposed to be allocated to each school. When he brought the fact that his school was understaffed to the attention of the superintendent, the superintendent admitted that it was and that such a teacher allocation formula existed. He agreed to do something about the situation, but tacked on an additional provision which claimed that the formula had to take into account the increase and decrease of the school population. The way the superintendent saw it the population of the black schools would be declining in the future and, therefore, the number of additional teachers to be provided for the black school would not actually be the number which should have been allotted on the basis of the allocation formula alone.

The black principal often had no real idea what was going on at the white schools or what the general level of education there was. Often when the superintendent met with the black principal he met with him alone and the principal would have no idea what white principals were being told by the Central Office. These meetings were rare and rarer still were visits to the schools from anyone in the Central Office. Quite frequently the Central Office was not even aware that black schools had yearbooks and they cared little what was included in programs of instruction.

Said one principal:

> "As long as we prepared you to dig a straight ditch and cook a good meal, and you didn't blow up the building...that was all they were concerned about."

But probably one of the most important aspects of the principal's role was the importance he had in the black community. In many areas he was the highest paid black male and the one with the highest status. He was sometimes referred to as the "black mayor" and he was often the only link that his community had with whites. People would seek him out for advice--marital and financial.

One black principal decided to run for city council and found that even he did not know all the ins and outs of the whites' political games. He came in second (only eight votes behind the frontrunner) out of four for two possible council seats only to find that he could not take office because of a technicality. He had gotten on the ballot but he had only entered his name in the county and not also, as required, in the town book. Although he did not believe this information was purposely withheld from him and although he plans to run again, he still represented the man in the black community who would be most likely to know what goes on outside the black community.

Not only did black principals find themselves in the role of marital counselor and financial advisor, they often found themselves acting as "money lenders" although when they lent others money they often knew they had no chance of getting it back. One principal said, "I don't know how much money that I would have if I could just think back on all that money that I gave." He would give families money for groceries and occasionally

he gave money even when he was pretty sure that was not what it was being used for. The principal also acted as a reference for many in his community. Many a family could get a loan only after the principal vouchsafed their reliability. And not only did he bail some out of jail, but he "kept a whole lot out of them by speaking a good word for them."

The principal was included in the planning of almost everything the black community did. Many helped found credit unions and local boys clubs. He had to handle children with discipline problems since the courts often turned such children back over to the principal for help. He was active in the black Parent-Teacher Association and he and black teachers would frequently visit the homes of students to talk with their parents. He kept the school building open long hours for students to have a place to study and in general "the black school became the recreation facility, winter and summer." Parents used it for meetings and other community activities such as singing.

Interviews with Former Superintendents

One superintendent, speaking of the place of the black high school within the administrative district, stated "while the school systems recognized the role and responsibility for educating all the children, it was clearly structured to be accomplished under a black/white dichotomy," so that even though by 1963-64 there were bi-racial principal and staff meetings, in terms of the curriculum, staffing and budgeting, the black and white schools were separate entities with very little overlap. Not all systems even went so far as to have regular bi-racial meetings, however. One superintendent told how his predecessor instituted a bi-racial meeting of all the principals "so that he could say publicly, 'Yes, the black and white principals are meeting together'." There was only one meeting a year, though, and it was very structured, with few questions and little participation by the black administrators. "They were there, but the only exchange took place between the white members." This, at least, was a definite step toward integration. A joint meeting of the principals in one district a few years before that was described as follows:

> "You had two tables that were about eight feet long where all the white principals sat, and about eight feet away there was a small table with two chairs for the Indian principals. Then farther on down the room there was another eight foot table with the black principals. The superintendent sat with the white principals. They would turn in their textbooks and the black principals would pick up the ones which had just been turned back in, and the white principals would take the new ones."

The white principals did not seem to know much about what was happening in the black schools, in spite of the fact that they often said that they enjoyed a good relationship with the black administrators. One superintendent stated that when he was a principal he talked with black principals about common problems, and they attended each other's ball games, graduations, and other

functions, yet he knew very little of the inner workings of the black schools until he became superintendent.

From the comments of the superintendents it would appear that the central administration involved itself very little with the operation of the black high school. The superintendents did not spend the same amount of time in the black schools as they did in the white schools. This was not because, as one superintendent put it, it was forbidden territory, but because "so much ado was made when a white superintendent went into the schools...that the white administrator felt like a visitor or a guest rather than as a part of the system."

In theory, the superintendent and the board of education had the power to make all decisions regarding curriculum, staffing, and financing, but in many districts most of this was left up to the black principal. According to one superintendent, prior to desegregation, the allotment of funds was left up to the discretion of the superintendent, rather than being divided by a simple mathematical formula of so much per student per school. He recalled one particular case in which one black school received less than $.50 per student for instructional supplies while some white schools received $5.00 or $6.00 per student.

The relationship of the black school and the central administration differed from unit to unit. In one administrative unit the school board appointed a 5 to 7 member committee for each attendance district to run the schools in that district. Some schools had an advisory committee consisting of black parents. While the district committee had the power to select teachers, principals, and curricula, in general they were not really involved in the operation of the black schools. Rural systems often had a black supervisor appointed by the superintendent to represent the central administration.

According to one superintendent, the supervisor was often mistrusted by the black principal, since any power play in decision making between the superintendent and the principal was carried out by the superintendent's representative, the supervisor.

The superintendents were all in agreement that the black principal was the most powerful force in the black high school and in the black community in most areas. For all practical purposes he was a black superintendent or assistant superintendent with the power to raise money, hire and fire personnel, and make recommendations regarding other black administrators in the district.

While the superintendent had the right to select the staff for the black schools, in most cases the principals would select their teachers "and it would be rubber-stamped by the superintendent." While the budget was determined by the superintendent, the black principal was given the freedom to raise whatever amount of money he thought appropriate. In fact, "he was the chief administrator. The relationship of the black principal to the superintendent was somewhat like the relationship of the superintendent to the board: only when you needed a policy, when you needed money, or when you had a problem were they called in."

The black principal handled most of the problems which arose by himself. If a problem existed, "the black principal would just be told that such and such a problem existed and then he would take care of it." It is interesting to note that some of the superintendents pointed out that these problems generally related to the mores of the town and were rarely about instructional problems, "since there was very little discussion about instruction back in those days." Black students and parents would not usually come to the superintendent with grievances and petitions since "this would be a slam against the black administrator." The black principal regarded himself as the

spokesman, and all complaints should have gone through him. "If there was someone complaining about the school and the teachers, he took it as a personal slam against himself, so he suppressed it himself."

The black principal was usually the highest paid man, the high status individual in the black community, and his power extended through both the school and the community as a whole. As one superintendent stated, "the faculty was pretty well dominated, the student body was dominated, and the parents were pretty well dominated."

Part of the black principals' power may have been related to the fact that they generally stayed on as principal for many years. This often resulted in their being the highest paid principals in the entire school district. "They stayed for a number of reasons: They felt comfortable, it was normally their home, they were their own men, they enjoyed the prestige that they had in the community, and they enjoyed the freedom they had in the school." It is interesting to note that because the principal's salary was based on his degree certification, the number of teachers in his school, and the years of experience as a professional educator, often the black principal was the highest paid public official in the area. This proved to be a continued irritant to important members of the white community who were knowledgeable about his actual salary.

The principal was really the unofficial community leader. With his backing a political candidate could be voted into office or an issue could gain support. Sometimes he used his influence indirectly by "letting someone else, maybe a teacher, community leader, or P.T.A. representative be the spokesman...and you would know that when they were making statements that the paper would not go for, that they may have been the mouthpiece of the principal."

With his power to employ not only professional personnel but also janitors, maids, and food service workers, the black principal was often the largest employer of blacks in the community, and in a small town, he was one of the largest employers in the community as a whole. According to one superintendent the black principal was often influenced by family ties and political considerations in making decisions regarding personnel. Said one,

> "I realized that it was sometimes political and oftentimes the best qualified person was not chosen, but I was also smart enough to know that he's not really going to tell me the real reason he did it, and the real reason may be more important...he would invariably get someone from a high social echelon if they were available because this gave him another hold for building a dynasty. In other words, if a daughter of an important person, let's say an undertaker, finished school, he would invariably hire this person because this would make another tie with the power structure in the community. There were very few individuals in 1963-64 who had any stronger power backing, and it was economic, it was political, and it was just leadership."

The principal himself had come up through the power structure. He had been chosen by someone and he got where he was because someone had retired or stepped down and he was designated as heir to the throne. Once he became principal, he had the authority to recommend other blacks for administrative positions, but some superintendents thought that the black principal would be careful not to recommend anyone who would rival him. "He knew that if he recommended somebody, he was going to have to control him, so, in turn, he wasn't going to recommend anyone who might question him; if this guy got out of line it was the principal who would have to straighten him out."

In spite of his apparent power, the black principal had all kinds of indirect pressures on him.

> "He had to play the ballgame, too. He was probably more a part of the white power structure than of the black power structure, since in actuality there really wasn't any power with the blacks. The power was with the whites, and he knew it. You're talking about two individuals: the black principal as he operated within the black community and the black principal as he operated within the white power structure, almost as an 'Uncle Tom'."

With the advent of integration, the black principal was threatened by the possibility of losing his position of power and authority.

> "Threat of change is very upsetting to the man who has been running his own show, and he saw that instead of dealing as a separate person he was going to have to learn to deal with another whole community that he might or might not be able to control. I think that deep down inside many of the principals were fearful of integration because of the strength they had in a community with a segregated school."

Major Roles of the Black Principal

During the course of our study, we learned about many specific aspects of the different roles played by black high school principals in a variety of community and political settings. Many of these roles are outlined in different parts of this study. As we began to reflect on all of that data we have collected from a variety of sources, we felt that a composite view of the various roles played by the black high school principals would provide the reader with a much clearer picture of his involvement as a professional educator. While one would be hard pressed to find a single individual black principal who played each of the roles to the extent described in this section, our data suggest that the aggregate of black principals in the state did in fact perform these roles as described here. We hope that this larger view of the many roles played by the black principals will aid the reader in understanding him and the school he administered in a broader sense. If this goal is accomplished, then we might make another contribution to the continuing efforts to understand how the black high school affected the black community in North Carolina.

The Black Principal as a Superintendent

In addition to his specific duties as unit administrator, the black principal served as the black superintendent. His role as the black superintendent made him responsible for recruiting, hiring, and firing teachers. While the black principal's role in staffing his school was officially, with respect to the superintendent, an advisory one, there were few instances where the superintendent for the school system exercised more than a rubber stamp function in these matters. The black principal was expected to obtain funds for purchasing essential equipment for maintaining and operating the school building, for purchasing all uniforms and equipment required to conduct extracurricular activities, for covering all expenses (travel, insurance, conference fees, etc.) associated with extracurricular activities and expenses (office and lounge furniture, clerical salaries and equipment, etc.) associated with operating the school. He was also expected to obtain funds to purchase books for the library and instructional materials for the classroom.

In his role as superintendent, the black high school principal set the policy for operating his unit, carried out all phases of staffing it and solicited funds for the support of basic and extracurricular programs. The white superintendent carried out these functions for the white schools.

The Black Principal as a School Administrator

The role of the black high school principal as a school administrator paralleled that of the white principal in a formal sense and exceeded it in the informal sense. In general, the black high school principal like his white counterpart was expected to assign teachers to groups of students, schedule classes and events, keep records on student attendence and movements, implement and monitor instructional offerings, maintain support supplies and materials, maintain facilities, fulfill requirements outlined in the school code (general administration), and work with parents on specific problems associated with school operations. Where the black principal's role as an administrator differed from his white counterpart's was that he was expected to carry out a program that required additional local financial support; but for the white principal these funds were provided from tax sources. Therefore, in addition to his regular administrative duties he had to spend about 30% of his time raising money to buy essential supplies for students and teachers, instructional and support equipment, transportation services for students, uniforms for extracurricular activities, and in too many instances, books and other instructional materials for the library.

The black principal was also expected to raise all the funds necessary to staff his personal office with a secretary and to fill it with office equipment and supplies. Many of the principals reported that they had to raise a minimum of $10,000 per year just to operate their basic programs. In some instances, some principals stated that they had to raise at least $30,000 annually to operate a comprehensive secondary program for their black students. At a first glance $10,000 to $30,000 annually does not seem like a great deal of money. However, considering the income levels and the general economic conditions of the black communities these schools served, the feat

proved to be no small one. The fund raising role of the black principal exacted its toll on him personally, as well as on the students, staff and community he served as an educational leader.

The black principal spent about half (50%) of his time with housekeeping chores: compiling and organizing records, building maintenance (cleaning, repairs), routine inspections, reading and answering mail, and general administrative routine; and with pupil, personnel, and organizational problems. The responsibility in terms of time he devoted to certain duties changed according to the accountability he held for himself within the general limits placed on him by the superintendent. He spent about 20% of his time supervising instruction. However, much of this instructional supervision was indirect because there was too much to be done and too many staff members to be observed for a black principal to complete this activity directly. Improvement in instruction depended largely on the nature of the staff and student population, and on the extent to which the principal was sensitive enough to recognize and develop those variables essential to effective instruction. There is little evidence to support a claim that the supervision of instruction by black principals was effective because they were never allowed the luxury of having adequate time or resources to do the job right.

As an administrator, the black high school principal was expected to operate a comprehensive secondary program. However, he was only provided with a building (and elements associated with its maintenance), an instructional staff, and some books with which to complete the job. To a large extent his success in carrying out his official administrative duties depended very much on his success in carrying out his unofficial duties as fund raiser. If a black principal failed to raise funds, the extent of his official administration was rigidly prescribed by the school code. In this sense, the black principal's official administrative role was governed to a large extent by the amount of

money he was able to raise annually for conducting his program.

There is little doubt that many of the black principals were effective administrators, but one has to wonder how much more effective they might have been if they had not been saddled with the added responsibility of financing a program where the majority of their supporters and chief benefactors were themselves without adequate financial resources. Given this confusion of educational and administrative roles and the expectations imposed on the black high school principal, any judgments on his effectiveness as an administrator have to be studied and evaluated in relation to the context in which his activities took place.

The Black Principal as a Supervisor

One of the specific duties of the black high school principal was to supervise all of the other black schools in the district. As the supervising principal for all black schools, he was expected to visit all schools in the district. During these visits he was expected to note problems and recommend solutions. When problems were of such a nature that they could not be solved locally, the black high school principal was responsible for calling the problems to the attention of the superintendent. In most instances all the black principals in the districts reported to the black high school principal who in turn would make one report to the superintendent. Rarely would another black principal in the black high school principal's district go directly to the superintendent without his prior approval.

A great deal of the black high school principal's activity as supervisor was conducted during meetings of the School Masters Club.* At that time many of the problems encountered in the various buildings would be discussed and solutions would often be suggested. When the supervising principal visited other black schools in his district, it was mainly as a formality to check on how well solutions were working out rather than as an inspection tour to determine what problems existed.

Another responsibility of the black high school principal as a supervisor was to map bus routes, coordinate bus schedules and select bus drivers for the district. Since buses were likely to make several stops at different schools in the district, the black high school principal had to see to it that the transportation of students was well coordinated with the requirements of the instructional program and the school code in each school unit. The black high

* The School Masters Club was made up of black administrators in districts, regions, and statewide groups. The group is discussed in greater detail in another section of this work.

school principal's concern with student transportation was directly tied to his overall concern with the quality of the instructional program received by black children in his district.

The Black High School Principal as a Family Counselor

As a family counselor, the black high school principal heard arguments and suggested solutions to marriage problems as a regular matter of course. Many families testified that, as a result of his counsel the black principal kept some marriages from breaking up. Juvenile delinquency problems were usually handled by the black high school principal as an extention of his role as an educational leader. On many occasions a word or recommendation from the black high school principal was sufficient to keep a black child from being prosecuted and sent to jail. The child was thus saved from being hampered by a permanent criminal record. Rarely would a plea on behalf of a youthful offender by a black high school principal fail to be honored if he agreed to assume responsibility for the child's conduct over a given period of time. The black principal could get these kinds of requests granted even when the parents of the youth in question could not do so.

The black principal also had to assume the role of chief spokesman for the community at funerals and many times had to preside over such affairs. He was also called on to settle property disputes which arose when people died intestate. The black principal was expected to advise families on the future educational and vocational choices of recent graduates. He was also expected to help families fill out important legal papers and forms, and read and interpret important papers. In many instances, the black principal was expected to find employment for students and adults who were having difficulty in finding jobs. In short, the black principal was consulted on all kinds of personal problems which were not readily understood by members of his community, but which could critically affect the quality of their daily life. Given this situation, the black high school principal had to play the role of family counselor on many occasions advising people on a wide range of social and personal problems.

The Black Principal as a Financial-Advisor

The black high school principal was expected to be able to provide advice on the purchase of certain items for personal or professional use or on how money should be invested. He was expected to help people fill out income tax returns, write business letters, and formulate budgets. On many occasions he was asked to provide financial advice about the conduct of farm business, and the purchase and sale of land. In the event that someone in the black community came into a large sum of money, the black principal was almost always asked for advice on how to deal with it. In general, for almost every conceivable personal or business problem that a black community member might face, the black principal would be asked to serve as a financial advisor who would find reasonable solutions.

Since the black high school principal was often the highest paid public employee (white or black) in the area, he exerted considerable influence as a financial advisor because he had visible financial resources. On several occasions, black principals were instrumental in helping establish credit unions and cooperatives in black communities. The principal always played the pivotal role in getting these kinds of projects off the ground. In many instances the projects would not have survived had it not been for his financial advice and support.

The Black High School Principal as a Community Leader

As a community leader, the black high school principal was the unchallenged spokesman for the black community. In his role, he was expected to visit all black churches and give talks on topics of interest to members of the community. The black principal was the community's official host for welcoming visiting dignitaries and visiting groups. He was expected to provide suggestions and recommendations on how to deal with certain local political and social issues, including those issues affecting people over a much wider area. The black principal was also expected to introduce, explain, and interpret social and political trends affecting the black community. The position taken by the black principal on vital issues played a crucial role in the thinking and actions of the black community.

In his role as community leader the black principal was often asked to help with local elections and to drum up support for the passage of school bond issues and county bond issues (sewage, hospitals, streets, etc.). Many times these requests were in conflict with the black community's interests because, even though they voted for passage of local bond issues, the new funds were not likely to be spent in their community. The black principal was in a tough spot on these issues because he would violate one of his trusts if he failed to appear to favor the positive community development that passage of local bond issues represented.

Another aspect of the black high school principal's role as a community leader dealt with his participation in civic activities in the black and larger community. Often he was expected to coordinate the activities of different civic groups working together on a particular problem. In this role he was also expected to organize groups for political involvement, interpret local political issues, and design means for presenting grievances

to the local white power structure. As a community leader, the black principal was expected to serve on local political and administrative boards, and to report the lack of specific services in the black community to the appropriate authorities. In fulfilling his role as a community leader, the black high school principal looked more like an elected politician than a publicly paid educator. That accounts in part for the wide range of roles played by black principals as community leaders. It did not really matter whether the black principal acted as an agent of the black community or as an agent of the white power structure, he could not abdicate his responsibility to serve as a community leader because the choice was not entirely his own.

The Black Principal as an Employer

In some of the eastern counties the black population exceeded the white population or was at least 40% of the total population. When this was the case, often the black high school principal was the largest single employer in the community. In some instances, the budget of the black high school was larger than any other in the whole county because many areas did not have any local industry that rivaled the economic stature of the black high school. As an employer, the black high school principal hired all the instructional staff, service personnel (janitors, maids, cooks, bus drivers, etc.), contractors for small repair jobs, office help, and special staff for special jobs. On many occasions, local high school graduates and community people were employed by local industry as a result of recommendations provided by the black high school principal.

The Black Principal as a Politician

As a politician, the black high school principal was expected to serve as spokesman for the white community to the black community and vice versa. In his political role the black principal was expected to be "the man" in both the white and black communities and as such he was often the man in the middle. It was the black high school principal's responsibility to be able to inform the white community what the black community was thinking and wanted. And in some instances, he was expected to influence the black community's thinking in one direction or another. Too often the black high school principal was asked to serve two masters with opposing requirements, opinions, and control. The white community exercised absolute control of material resources and job security, but the black community exercised control of the moral and spiritual values that governed his social action. The black high school principal had to exercise considerable political skill to remain a viable and credible educational and community leader.

The black high school principal was usually asked to provide endorsements during all kinds of local elections even when those running for office were openly hostile to the black community. During these times it took considerable skill to refuse without offending. The black principal was always the prime candidate for a political office requiring the appointment of a black citizen. Even when he did not take the appointment himself, only those who were recommended by him would be chosen to serve. The black principal was almost always put in charge of local general charitable fund raising activities in the black community such as Red Cross, United Fund, March of Dimes, etc. The white community also expected him to exercise a degree of control over the black community and its leaders. In short, the black high school principal was expected to be in control of all political activity

being initiated by and affecting the black community. All of the principals agreed that failure to fulfill their roles as acceptable politicians resulted in strong reprisals from the white community and condemnation from the black.

Background on the Black Principal: Questionnaire Data

Questionnaires from 58 former principals of all black high schools provided information on a variety of subjects. The information relating to the black principal himself is summarized here, while the rest may be found in the chapter on the black high school.

Table 66

Place of Birth

Place	Percent of Principals Responding
North Carolina	88
The South	9
Other	2

Table 67

Type of Community Lived in While Growing up, by Size

Size	Percent of Principals Responding
Rural area	43
Small town (2,000 or less)	10
Moderate-sized town (2,000-50,000)	38
Suburb of large city	0
Large city	9

The data in Tables 66 and 67 indicate that 88% of the principals were born in North Carolina. Almost half of the principals (43%) grew up in rural areas, while 38% were raised in moderate-sized towns.

Table 68

Location and Type of Principal's Undergraduate College

Location and Type	Percent of Principals Responding
North Carolina, public	59
North Carolina, private	28
South, public	0
South, private	7
Outside South, public	3
Outside South, private	3

Table 69

Highest Degree Obtained

Degree	Percent of Principals Responding
Associate	0
Bachelor's	7
Master's	93
Ph. D. or Ed. D.	0

Table 70

Completion Dates for Principals Receiving Undergraduate Degrees

Years	Percent
1925-1929	3
1930-1934	16
1935-1939	19
1940-1944	12
1945-1949	14
1950-1954	10
1955-1959	10
1960-1964	0

59% of the principals had attended public undergraduate colleges in North Carolina, and 28% private undergraduate colleges in North Carolina, as indicated in Table 68, 93% of the principals had obtained Master's degrees and 7% had only Bachelor's degrees (Table 69), Table 70 shows that 54% of the principals completed their undergraduate degrees before 1950.

Table 71

Teaching Experience Before Becoming Principal

Years	Percent of Principals Responding
0	9
1-5	31
6-10	22
11-15	26
16-20	3
21-25	2
26-30	2
31-35	2
36+	2

Table 72

Number of Years Served as Principal

Years	Percent of Principals Responding
1-5	9
6-10	14
11-15	19
16-20	12
21-25	9
26-30	17
31-35	3
36+	10

Table 73

Number of Different Schools Served as Principal

Number of Schools	Percent of Principals Responding
1	26
2	28
3	14
4	5
5	3

Table 71 indicates that almost half of the principals (48%) had had 6 to 15 years teaching experience before becoming principal, 31% had had 1 to 5 years experience, and 9% had no experience. According to Table 72, 32% of the principals had served 6 to 15 years as principal, and 10% had served more than 36 years. Most principals (58%) had served at only one or two different schools (Table 73).

Table 74

Status After Desegregation

Status	Percent of Principals Responding
Principal at same school	55
Principal at different school	10
Assistant principal	5
Administrator in central office	10
Teacher	5
Retired	5
Other	9

When asked about their status after desegregation, 55% of the principals reported that they kept the same position, while 10% moved to other schools, 5% became assistant principal, and 10% moved into administration at the central office. In addition, 66% reported on the questionnaire that they held this same position in 1973.

Table 75

Salaries of Principals Before and After Desegregation

Annual Salaries	Salaries of Principals Reporting		
	% Before Desegregation	% After Desegregation	
	As Principals	As Principals	As Other Educational Prof.
Under $5,000			
$5,000-5,999	2		
$6,000-6,999	2		
$7,000-7,999	3	2	
$8,000-8,999	12	0	
$9,000-9,999	10	0	
$10,000-10,999	22	0	
$11,000-11,999	17	3	2
$12,000-12,999	14	9	3
$13,000-13,999	3	5	2
$14,000-14,999	3	5	2
$15,000-15,999	2	12	5
Over $16,000	0	31	2

It is interesting to note that prior to desegregation the majority of principals (82%) earned less than $13,000 annually while after desegregation 53% earned more than $13,000 as principal. While no one had earned more than $16,000 annually before desegregation, 31% earned this much as principal after desegregation.

The H. V. Brown Schoolmasters Club

Black principals did not work in a vacuum. Because they were rarely if ever included in policy formation in the white power structure in their school administrative units, they formed their own group known as The H. V. Brown Schoolmasters Club. It was founded when schools were organized on a segregated basis and has been in operation some 40 years. The Club which was formed in 1933 as an all male professional school masters organization under the leadership of H. V. Brown who was then principal in Goldsboro, North Carolina, was known at first as the Pilots Club. Its general purpose was to help in the progress and orderly development of the school and the community using all human and natural resources available. Anyone holding state academic qualifications who had received a bona fide appointment as principal of a school was qualified to become a member of the Club.

Over the years the Club was extended to Craven, Duplin, Greene, Jones, Lenoir, Onslow, Johnson, Wilson and Wayne counties and it was renamed the H. V. Brown Schoolmasters Club. The purpose of the Club widened, focusing on the principalship of the schools. It was felt at the time that with the increasing number of teachers and pupils, the principal should give more time to administration, curricula studies, teaching guides, rating scales, standardized tests and other techniques. The Club functioned to provide black principals with a forum for exchanging ideas, discussing new techniques, and sharing expertise. Principals would explain ways they had coped with certain problems in their schools as a way of suggesting courses of action for principals in other schools with similar problems.

The Club, which is still in existence, brings outstanding speakers to local communities from the State Department of Public Instruction, Colleges and Universities, and from the political arena. It encourages student

scholarships and supports worthwhile community uplift projects. Meetings, which consist of luncheons held every third Wednesday of each month, rotate among the several counties in which the Club's members are located.

The Club provides public recognition for members when they retire as principals in the form of a public banquet with a featured speaker. At that time the retiring principal is presented with an engraved plaque. Many members who have retired as principals have gone on to be elected members of school boards; some help out with Club activities part time; some serve on various advisory committees; others serve organizations as consultants.

Part VI

The Black High School: Ten Years Later--1973

Even though the current status of the black high school is not a part of the present study, we felt that a quick look at some of the data on all the former black schools in some instances and on selected schools in other instances would serve to provide some insight into some of the changes that have taken place over the last ten years. Time and resource limitations do not permit a detailed analysis of recent data. However, our treatment here should enable the reader to discern some of the patterns that are suggestive of the school experience facing black youth today in North Carolina. In order to really understand the changes, a more systematic and carefully constructed study would have to be completed. In our judgment, that should be the subject of another study with a different focus.

In previous chapters we have examined the black high school as it existed in 1963-64. During the ten year period which followed, many changes were made in the public high schools of North Carolina as a result of both integration and consolidation. Many schools which had been all black high schools became elementary schools or junior high schools, or were closed entirely. Often, a given school underwent several grade changes within that ten-year period. In some cases when the school continued to operate, its name was changed. Some of the effects of these changes on the attitude of the black community toward the public school has already been documented.

Number of Schools

Data shown in Table 76 indicate that in 1963-64 91 of the state's 100 counties had at least 1 black high school and that, in fact, 44% of the counties had at least one white school, and only 13% of the counties had only one. When looking at the distribution of black and white high schools across administrative units (Table 77) we see that 140 of the state's 171

administrative units had at least 1 black high school, and that each administrative unit had at least one white high school. 70.7% of the units had only one black school, while 54% of the units had only one white high school. In 1963-64 there were 493 white high schools and 226 black high schools, making a total of 719 public high schools. In 1973-74 the total number of public high schools was 366, or 353 fewer schools than there were ten years before. The data in Table 78 show the distribution of high schools per county in 1963-64 as compared with 1973-74. In 1973-74 25% of the counties had only one public high school, and 81% had 5 or fewer high schools, while in 1963-64 only 2% of the counties had only one public high school, and 43% had 1 to 5 high schools per county. The distribution of high schools across administrative units shown in Table 79 reveals that while in 1973-74 45.6% of the administrative units had only one, the largest group of administrative units in 1963-64 was that with only two high schools, probably reflecting one white high school and one black high school in each district.

Table 76

Distribution of High Schools per County 1963-64

# High Schools Per County	Black		White	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1	40	44	13	13
2	13	14.3	10	10
3	14	15.4	17	17
4	15	16.5	11	11
5	2	2.2	12	12
6	4	4.4	11	11
7	1	1.1	6	6
8	1	1.1	6	6
9	1	1.1	4	4
10			4	4
11			2	2
12			2	2
13			1	1
14			1	1

Table 77

Distribution of High Schools per Administrative Unit 1963-64

# High Schools Per Admin. Unit	Black		White	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1	99	70.7	87	54
2	14	10.0	11	6
3	15	10.7	21	12
4	9	6.4	12	7.0
5		-	13	7.6
6	3	2.1	10	5.8
7			5	2.9
8			4	2.3
9			4	2.3
10			2	1.1
11			1	.05
12				
13				
14			1	.05

Table 78

Distribution of High Schools per County

# High Schools Per County	1963-64		1973-74	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1	2	2	25	25
2	13	13	15	15
3	10	10	16	16
4	9	9	13	13
5	9	9	12	12
6	7	7	5	5
7	9	9	7	7
8	6	6	3	3
9	7	7	-	-
10	8	8	1	1
11	1	1	1	1
12	8	8	-	-
13	3	3	1	1
14	-	-	1	1
15	2	2	-	-
16	1	1	-	-
17	1	1	-	-
18	2	2	-	-
19	1	1	-	-
20	1	1	-	-

(Total # Counties = 100)

Table 79

Distribution of High Schools per Administrative Unit

# High Schools per Admin. Unit	1963-64 Frequency	%	1973-74* Frequency	%
1	13	7.6	69	45.6
2	76	44.4	27	17.8
3	10	5.8	18	11.9
4	14	8.2	20	13.2
5	13	7.6	6	3.9
6	11	6.4	5	3.3
7	5	2.9	1	.06
8	7	4.1	4	2.6
9	6	3.5	-	-
10	7	4.1	1	.06
11	3	1.7		
12	-	-		
13	2	1.2		
14	1	.58		
15	1	.58		
16	1	.58		
17	-	-		
18	1	.58		

*20 fewer administrative units as a result of consolidation of districts

Grade Level Changes

In 1963-64 there were 24 black senior high schools, 23 black junior-senior high schools, and 179 black union schools. Between 1963-64 and 1973-74 grade level changes were made at all but 14 of these senior high schools, 3 of these junior high schools, and 41 of these union schools. In short, only 58 of the 226 black high schools which existed in 1963-64 did not undergo changes in the grade levels which they served. Table 80 shows the distribution of types of high schools with no grade level changes. Many of the 168 schools in which grade changes were made had 2 or 3 grade changes after 1963-64. Table 81 shows that 65 schools (28.8%) underwent 2 grade level changes, and 26 (11.5) underwent 3 grade level changes.

Table 80

Distribution of Types of High Schools
with no Grade Level Changes
(1963 to closing date or 1963-1973)

Type of High School	Grade Levels	Number of Schools	Percentage of Schools	Total	
				Number	Percent
Senior	9-12	8	13.8	14	24.1
	10-12	6	10.3		
Junior Senior	5-12	0	-	3	5.2
	6-12	0	-		
	7-12	3	5.2		
	8-12	0	-		
Union	1-12	41	70.7	41	70.7
Totals	7	58	100.0	58	100.0

Table 81

Number of Grade Changes in Formerly All-Black High Schools
During the 1963-73 Period

# of Grade Changes	Frequency	Percentages
0	58	25.7
1	69	30.5
2	65	28.8
3	26	11.5
4	7	3.1
5	1	.4
Totals	226	

School Name Changes

It is interesting to note that in addition to undergoing grade level changes, some formerly all black high schools also had their school names changed. Table 82 shows that 32 schools (14.2%) of the 226 schools had their names changed at least once during the ten year period between 1963 and 1973.

Table 82

School Name Changes in Formerly All-Black High Schools During the 1963-74 Period

No Change		Changed	
#	%	#	%
194	85.8	32*	14.2

* 30 schools had 1 name change
2 schools had 2 name changes

Number of Principals per School

As was indicated in a previous chapter, one of the characteristics of the black school was the tenure of its principals. Table 83 indicates that 78.3% of the schools had only one or two principals between 1963 and 1973. Only 15.9% had three different principals, 4.9% had four different principals, and .9% had five different principals during the ten year period.

Table 83

Number of Principals per School in Formerly All-Black High Schools During the 1963-74 Period

# of Principals per School	Frequency	Percentages
1	90	39.8
2	87	38.5
3	36	15.9
4	11	4.9
5	2	.9
Total	226	

Black High School Principals in 1973

In 1963-64, there were 226 (see Table 19) principals of black schools that included high school grades. Of the 226, 24 served as principals of Senior High Schools (grades 9-12 or 10-12), 23 served as principals of Junior-Senior High Schools (grades 5-12, 6-15, 7-12, or 8-12), and the remaining 179 served as principals of Union High Schools (grades 1-12). The specific percentage breakdown of the number of different schools served is shown in Table 6.

Ten years after the established data base line year (1963-64), there were 15 black principals serving in schools with grades 10 and/or above. Of this number 1 served as a principal of a 10th grade school, and 1 as a principal of 9th and 10th grade school. The principals were located in 14 different counties and 15 different administrative units. The list of the number of principals located in the different administrative units is shown in Appendix 5.

Closing of Black High Schools

By 1973, 93 of the 226 formerly all black high schools had ceased to operate altogether. Table 84 reveals that most of these schools (65.6%) closed between 1968 and 1970. Of these 93 schools, only 63 still contained students in grades 9 through 12 during the last year of the school's operation. The data in Table 85 shows that 25 of the 93 schools operated their last year with elementary school students (grades 1-8) and 5 schools had only grades 5-9 or 7-9. The largest percentage of schools closed before 1973 (44.1%) were those with grades 1 through 12.

Of the formerly all black high schools which were still in operation in 1973, 120 of them had ceased to operate as high schools. The data in Table 86 show that 62.5% of these schools operated as high schools for the last time in 1968-69 or 1969-70. In short, by the fall of 1970, 87.5% of the schools which had been black high schools in 1963-64 and were still open in 1973 were no longer functioning as high schools. Table 87 gives the last year of operation as a high school for the 93 schools which closed entirely, and the 120 schools which were still operating in 1973 but no longer functioned as high schools. Again, 1968, 1969 and 1970 seem to be the years in which most of these formerly all black schools (65.3%) ceased to operate as high schools. Thus, in the fall of 1970 only 40 formerly all black high schools were still operating as high schools, and by the fall of 1972 this number was reduced to only 13.

Table 84

Last Year the Physical Plant of Formerly
All-Black High Schools Operated

Year School Closed	Frequency	Percentages
1965	10	10.8
1966	12	12.9
1967	5	5.4
1968	19	20.4
1969	26	28.0
1970	16	17.2
1971	4	4.3
1972	1	1.1
Total Schools Closed	93	

Table 85

Final Grade Level Status of Formerly
All-Black High Schools Closed Before 1973

* Final Status	Frequency	Percentages
K-4	1	1.1
1-4	1	1.1
1-6	5	5.4
1-7	3	3.2
1-8	11	11.8
1-9	1	1.1
1-12	41	44.1
2-12	1	1.1
3-8	1	1.1
3-12	1	1.1
4-6	1	1.1
4-12	1	1.1
5-8	1	1.1
5-9	3	3.2
7-9	2	2.2
7-12	5	5.4
9-12	8	8.6
10-12	6	6.5
Total	93	

*Schools closed before 1973

Table 86

Final Year of Operation of Formerly All-Black High Schools Still in Operation as of 1973

Last year of High Schools	Frequency	Percentages
1963-1964	1	.8
1964-1965	2	1.7
1965-1966	2	1.7
1966-1967	8	6.7
1967-1968	17	14.2
1968-1969	37	30.8
1969-1970	38	31.7
1970-1971	13	10.8
1971-1972	2	1.7
Total High Schools Closed	120	

Table 87

Final Year of Operation as a High School in Formerly All-Black High Schools in the 1963-73 Period

Final Year of Operation as a High School	Frequency	Percentages
1963-1964	1	.5
1964-1965	15	7.0
1965-1966	19	8.9
1966-1967	22	10.3
1967-1968	36	16.9
1968-1969	59	27.7
1969-1970	44	20.7
1970-1971	14	6.6
1971-1972	3	1.4
Total of all Black High Schools Closed	213	

Formerly All-Black High Schools in 1973

In 1973, 133 of the original 226 all black high schools were still in operation. The data in Table 88 show that in 1973 89 schools (68.9%) included grades K-6 or K-9, 26 schools (19.5%) were junior high schools, and only 17 schools (12.8%) still included grades 9-12. Table 89 indicates the number of different grade levels contained in these schools in 1973. Thirty-one schools (23.3%) contained three grades, 17 schools (12.8%) contained 4 grades, and 17 schools (12.8%) contained 5 grades. Only 2 schools (1.5%) functioned as union schools, including grades K-12. It is interesting to note that in 1973 23 schools (17.3%) included only 1 or 2 grades, a practice that was unheard of in the all-black schools in 1963-64. Table 90 shows the present grade level status of the 133 originally all-black high schools still in operation in 1973. The largest figure, 13 schools (9.8%) represents those schools operating as junior high schools with grades 7-9. The second largest group contains the 11 schools (8.3%) including grades K-6, and the third largest group (10 schools or 7.5%) includes those with grades K-8. Only 11 schools (8.3%) included all three senior high school grades, 10-12.

Table 88

Distribution of Grades Included in Formerly All-Black High Schools in 1973

Grades Included	Frequency	Percentages
K-6	43	32.3
K-9	46	34.6
7-9	26	19.5
7-12	2	1.5
9-12	13	9.8
K-12	2	1.5
Spec. Ed.	1	.8
Total	133	

Table 89

Number of Different Grade Levels Included in All-Black High Schools in 1973

Number of Grade Levels in Each School	Frequency	Percentages
1	10	7.5
2	13	9.8
3	31	23.3
4	17	12.8
5	17	12.8
6	11	8.3
7	11	8.3
8	8	6.0
9	11	8.3
10	1	.8
13	2	1.5
	132	
+ 1 Spec. Ed. School	1	
Total	133	

Table 90

Present Grade Level Status of Formerly All-Black High Schools Still in Operation in 1973

1973 Status	Frequency	Percentages
K-2	3	2.3
K-3	3	2.3
K-4	4	3.0
K-5	3	2.3
K-6	11	8.3
K-7	4	3.0
K-8	10	7.5
K-9	1	.8
K-12	2	1.5
1-3	1	.8
1-4	2	1.5
1-5	2	1.5
1-6	5	3.8
1-8	4	3.0
1-9	1	.8
3-6	1	.8
3-8	1	.8
4-5	2	1.5
4-6	2	1.5
4-7	1	.8
4-8	7	5.3
4-9	1	.8
5-6	3	2.3
5-8	5	3.8
5-9	3	2.3
6	1	.8
6-8	7	5.3
6-9	1	.8
7	3	2.3
7-8	3	2.3
7-9	13	9.8
7-12	1	.8
8	2	1.5
8-9	2	1.5
8-12	1	.8
9	4	3.0
9-10	3	2.3
9-12	4	3.0
10	1	.8
10-12	5	3.8
Spec. Ed.	1	.8
Total	133	

Changes in Extracurricular Experiences in 1973

Data for this area is spotty and very difficult to obtain accurately. Part of the difficulty lies in the sensitivity of the problem in areas that have struggled through desegregation issues and fights in the recent past. Another part of the difficulty is related to the fact that specific data on black student participation in extracurricular activities are no longer kept. However, yearbook analysis* reveals some interesting insights into the problem. Since our techniques in yearbook analysis are still in the early stages of development, only a few examples will be employed here to illustrate some of the changes that have occurred regarding black student participation in extracurricular activities in desegregated schools.

Without doubt, there has been a qualitative change in the depth and breadth of the type of extracurricular activities black youth experience in desegregated schools. For example, in 1963-64, looking at black high schools as a group, there was a total of 43 different extracurricular activities in which students could participate. More than half (50%) of all black high schools had 24 of these activities in their school and 25% or fewer of the schools reported that they had fewer than 12 of the activities in their schools. Table 91 shows that senior high schools have a variety of activities for student participation ranging from 30 to 59 different activities with an average of 42 activities per school. On the basis of absolute numbers the percentage of students participating in the available activities ranged from 28% to 94% with an average participation percentage of 62%. The percentages of students participating in each school is probably less than indicated by absolute count because many students participate in a number of different activities. Black students who participate

* A more detailed aspect of this method of obtaining data will be explored in a future study of participation patterns of black students in integrated schools.

in activities make up 20% to 50% of the total number of students involved, with an average participation of 31%. In each of the six schools used, the pattern of black student participation across the various activities differed widely. The actual pattern of participation for each school is shown in Appendices 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11. 26% of the staff assigned to work with student groups in the six schools was black. The staff members served in a restricted number of activities.

Table 91

Some Selected Characteristics of Student Activity Patterns in Six Senior High Schools 1972-73 School Year

Schools	Enrollment	Number of Different Activities	Total # of Students Participating	%	Black Students Participating		Number of Activities Without Black Students	Staff Assigned to Various Activities	
					#	%*		Total	Black
1	2,080	44	1,183	57	234	20	13	20	2
2	1,666	35	758	45	241	32	4	14	2
3	1,044	41	983	94	326	33	5	44	11
4	1,659	30	472	28	236	50	3	22	7
5	1,476	45	900	61	235	26	3	21	8
6	1,378	59	1,196	87	325	27	9	12	4

* This figure refers to the percent of the total number of students participating in activities who were black

Changes in Staff Assignments

Table 92 shows the pattern of staffing in the six senior high schools we selected for study. 24% of the administrators and support staff in the six schools were black. Five of the principals were white and 2 of them were black.* There were 7 white and 3 black assistant principals in the six schools. 29% of the teachers in the six schools surveyed were black. Even though there has been a decided drop in the percentage of black administrators, the percentage of black teachers (29%) in the six schools selected is greater than the percentage (24.8%) of black teachers in the state in 1963-64.

Table 92

Some Selected Characteristics of Administrators and Staff in Six Senior High Schools 1972-73 School Year

	Administrators and Support Staff		Administrators Principals		Asst. Principals		Teachers Number of		
Schools	Total	Black	White	Black	White	Black	Total	Blacks	%
1	15	2	1		1	1	96	17	18
2	9	2	1		1	1	70	23	33
3	19	3	1		1	1	52	13	25
4	12	7	1**	1**	1		78	28	42
5	11	1	1		2		75	27	36
6	10	3		1	1		60	12	20
Total	76	18	5	2	7	3	420	120	29

* One white and one black principal served as co-principals of one school divided into two parts (East and West).

** Co-principals

Changes in Approved Non-Public Schools

The approved non-public schools in North Carolina experienced a fast rate of growth during the ten year period (1963-1973) of our study. Table 93 shows that the number of administrative areas containing non-public schools with high school grades grew from 18 to 55, and the number of schools with high school grades 10 and above increased from 25 to 93. The number of high school teachers working in approved non-public schools more than doubled during the ten year period, growing from 245 to 587 teachers. There was a slight decrease in the number of schools with high school grades that were accredited by the state of North Carolina. The number of these high schools accredited by the state dropped from 19 to 16 over the ten year period. During the same period, the number of non-public high schools accredited by the Southern Association grew from 6 to 10. It appears that school desegregation accelerated the increase in the number of students attending a larger number of approved non-public high schools. However, it is difficult to measure the quality of these non-public high schools on the basis of their accreditation status, since only 27.9% of them were accredited by either the state or the Southern Association. It should be noted that some of the approved non-public schools are too new to be accredited as yet. Therefore decisions concerning the quality of these non-public schools based on accreditation data will have to be withheld until they have received their first accreditation review. Even with that problem of quality, the trend toward the growth in number and size of approved non-public schools in North Carolina is unmistakable. This trend should be watched closely to see if the direction of the trend changes as public schools demonstrate their superiority over approved non-public schools in terms of academic and extracurricular programs, and personal and social development.

Table 93

Selected Data on Approved Non-Public Schools
in North Carolina from 1963-1973

Year	Number of Administrative Areas**	Grade Levels Covered by Schools High School Grades (10 or above)							Number of High School Teachers	Accreditation Status of Schools with High School Grades	
		K-10	K-11	K-12	6,7,8,10, 12	9-12	11-12	Total		Accredited by North Carolina	Accredited by Southern Ass.
1963-64	18	3	0	2	5	13	2	25	245	19	6
1973-74	55	12	12	50	5	13	1	93	587*	16	10

196

* Conservative Estimate
** Designates administrative units used for State Department of Public Instruction Purposes

Part VII

Inferences and Propositions That Warrant Further Consideration

The black high school in North Carolina was a direct and positive force in the development of the community it served. It provided leadership and participation opportunities for black staff, students, and laymen when no other official institution was available to serve this community. As far as we can determine, the black high school was the only long term publicly supported institution that was pervasive across the black community, and that was controlled, operated, staffed, populated, and maintained by blacks that has ever existed (or most probably will ever exist again) in the United States. There was no other institution that matched the black high school's pervasive character within and across every black community in the state of North Carolina and most probably in other Southern states as well.

All high schools serve their respective communities. However, that service can be thought of as occurring along a continuum from direct to indirect. Most high schools serve their communities indirectly because they help to define those choices that students might make in fulfilling their roles as citizens in the larger community. In this sense high schools provide the foundation for later choices, but play only an indirect role in the specific choices individual students make regarding their lives. The role of the black high school in the black community was central to its functioning and because of this it served its community more directly than the white high school did its community. The apparent relationship of black and white high schools to their respective communities is illustrated in Figure 1. The black high school seemed to play a critical role in determining the opportunities available to members of the black community, more so than was the case with the white high school in the white community. Without the presence of the

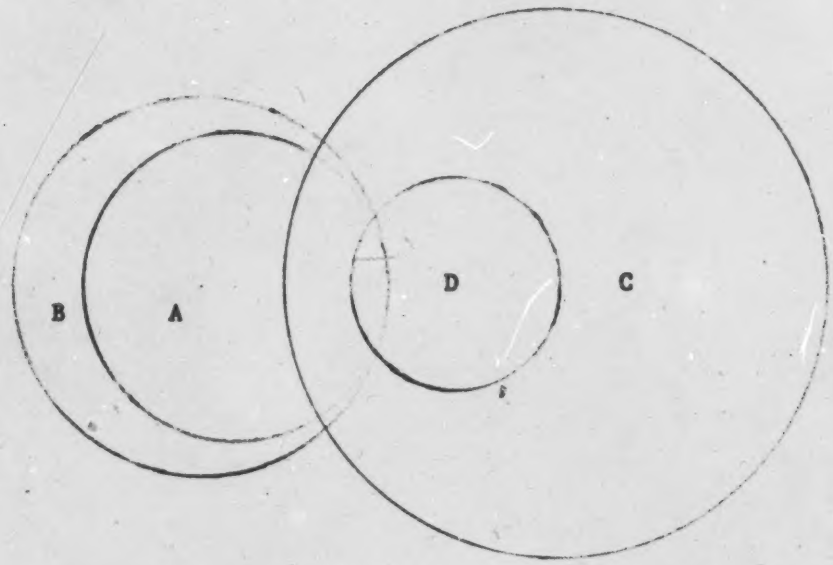

Figure 1: The Relationship Between High Schools and Their Respective Communities

black high school, the black community would have been severely limited educationally, socially, politically, and economically. There were few if any educational opportunities for black citizens outside the black high school. Most social events in the black community could not have taken place if the black high school had not existed. It was expected by the members of both the black and white communities that the politics within and outside the black community would be a central concern of the black high school and especially of the principal of the black high school. Lastly, a great deal of the economic activity in the black community was dependent on the presence and support of the black high school. In many ways the black high school played a crucial role in defining, directing, and creating major social functions in the black community. Black communities would have been unable to carry on many activities critical to their development and they would not have been exposed to ideas and issues that enabled their members to take advantage of existing opportunities or enabled them to pursue newly created

opportunities. The black community needed the black high school to carry out its social functions. In that sense the black community was almost completely defined by the scope of the black high school.

The white high school's role in the white community was much different than that played by the black high school in its community. While the white high school did contribute to the educational, social, political, and economic life of the white community, it did not control these major social functions. In fact, these major social functions were controlled so totally by other parts of the white community that the vast majority of white high schools would not have dared to go beyond supporting those values and ideals that were specified by the white community as being properly the role of the school. In addition, many of the critical educational learnings* could only be learned in the white community outside the high school. Unlike the black community, the white community dictated the social learnings that the white high school could offer. The social pattern of the white community was not set directly by the white high school. Typically, the white high school was expected to be and remain apolitical in its community activities. The political activities were controlled by the white community outside the white high school. The white high school played a minor role in the economic life of the white community.

Little influence could be exerted by the white high school on the white community because the white high school was dependent on the white community for its economic base whereas the black community was dependent, to a large degree, upon the black high school for its economic base. Thus it can be seen that the economic relationship between the black high school and the black community was often the reverse of the relationship observed in the white community.

* All specific job information in such fields as banking, insurance, management, sales, construction, repairs, etc. had to be learned in the white community.

The illustration in Figure 1 and our foregoing discussion show some of the ways that the black high school differed from the white high school in terms of their respective communities. The black high school exerted a much greater influence on opportunities in and the development of the black community because it was central to its functioning. This was not the case with the white high school when it is viewed in terms of its relationship with the white community. In addition, the black high school heavily influenced the nature of the contact between the black and white communities. Returning to Figure 1 the reader should note that the black community (B) overlaps with the white community (C) but not with the white high school(D). On the other hand, the black high school (A) had a much greater overlap with the white community (C) including some contact with the white high school (D). Generally speaking, for the white community, the black high school represented the black community, and it usually was the white high school's sole contact with the black community.

A more careful analysis of Figure 1 reveals that while the white community might choose to deal with the black community directly, it almost always included the black high school in its deliberations. However, many times the white community dealt only with the black high school as the representative of the black community. The white high school hardly ever made any contact with the black community outside the black high school. The black high school was the bridge, the communication link between the black and white communities.

The kinds of development experienced by most black communities in North Carolina can be directly tied to the influence of some aspects of the black high school's program. In the majority of instances the black high school offered the only avenue to the outside world for most black citizens. Since the black high school controlled much of the information coming into the black community from the outside, it exerted a great influence over the members of that community.

The black high school also served to open doors and create opportunity for blacks within and outside the black community. In a real sense then, the black high school was the black community in many areas in North Carolina. This being the case, the extent of progress a given black community could make was dependent on the course taken and the programs implemented by the black high school.

The Black High School as a Social System

When we consider the black high school as a social system we are mainly concerned with trying to describe it rather than with trying to build a conceptual model of it. Social system, as we are using the term, must not be confused with the notion of society, or the notion of state, or thought of as only being applicable to large aggregates of human interaction in conducting social functions. With reference to the black high school, social system deals with functions of the black high school as an institutional unit within a given community (the community may also be thought of as a social system). Specifically our concern here is with behavior within the social system of the black high school.

Behavior in the black high school can be viewed as a function of two major sets of variables. The first set of variables is conceptual. It deals with institution, role, and expectation. Together, these notions define and describe the normative dimension of activity in a social system. The second set of variables is descriptive. It deals with the individual, personality, and disposition. Together, this set of notions defines and describes the personal dimension of activity in a social system. Using these two major sets of variables, one can study the specific role of a particular student without reference to particular students. At this point we are concerned with the institutional or sociological aspects of student and staff behavior in the

black high school. On the other hand, one might study the personality of particular students without reference to the specific role of a student. This approach provides a view of individual or psychological aspects of student and staff behavior in the black high school. These two major sets of variables studied together can be thought of as constituting a socio-psychological analysis of the social system of the black high school.

The black high school as a social system had certain imperative functions that were carried out in certain routinized patterns, that is, the black high school became an institution. Therefore, one of the important analytic units for describing the nature of the functions and patterns of the black high school as an institution are the roles played by students, staff, and community members. These roles have expectations attached to them; that is, the rights, privileges, and obligations that determine what the incumbents in the roles must do. Different roles in the black high school complemented each other and as such, each role derived its definition and meaning from the other roles that operated in the black high school setting. Thus the role of the black teacher, student, principal, and parent cannot be understood except in relation to each other. In performing the role behavior expected of him, the black principal directed the activity of the school; in performing the role behavior expected of him, the teacher reacted to direction from the principal. Our purpose in viewing the black school as a social system and utilizing major institutional variables (such as programs, activities, staff positions, etc.) for analysing the behavior of individuals serving or being served is to see how roles and personalities interacted in the school in the context of the community it served. This is justified in the final analysis partly because the black high school as a social system was part of a particular community, and partly because the nature of the

educational roles and the character of staff-student interactions are integrally related to other broader aspects of the black community.

Seeing the black high school as a social system serves to provide a general framework for understanding how the school served its students and the black community in particular and the total community in general. This framework should enable us to put forth inferences and propositions concerning the black high school and its effects on community development. As we present these inferences and propositions we hope to relate our findings on the specific topic to broader issues affecting educational theory and practice in the United States. Now we can turn our attention to the discussion of specific inferences and propositions.

Inferences and Propositions Resulting from the Study of the Black High School and Its Effects on Community Development in North Carolina

Inference 1: Educational policy involving financial support made at the top and directed at a specific problem causes many problems and conflicts at lower levels that were not intended or foreseen.

The above inference was arrived at as the result of seeing the turmoil caused at the state and local school levels when the Congress of the United States authorized the Federal Treasury in 1836 to distribute funds for the support of local educational efforts on the basis of state population. This was the first Congressional effort to provide financial support for local educational efforts. These funds did not carry any stipulation for social application outside of aiding local communities in their efforts to educate their youth. Yet the requirement that distribution be based on federal population, which included black slaves, caused a split between the white citizens in eastern and western North Carolina that persisted for more than a decade. The conflict was caused by the method of distribution stipulated. The legal method for distributing state funds for local educational efforts was based on the distribution of the white population. Conversely, the legal

method of distributing the federal funds provided to the state by the Congress was based on the federal population of the state which included black slaves. Since eastern North Carolina had more black slaves than whites in their population, they got more than twice as much of the federal allocation for the education of each white child. In contrast, there were few, if any, black slaves in western North Carolina, so that local educational units in this section of the state received less than half the amount of federal funds for each white child than was awarded to their counterparts in the east. This was seen by North Carolinians in the west as being unfair and unlawful according to state practice and law.

The above example points up some of the problems created when policy decisions are not consistent with practice and legal requirements at levels where the policy is to be implemented. Any policy decisions at one level concerning a specific problem area in an educational unit, can cause problems and conflicts in areas that were not the intended target. This is related to the fact that policy changes the roles of certain individuals in a social system. A change in the roles of some individuals in a social system changes the roles of other individuals in that social system. Life can never be the same for anyone in that social system. When the change comes, some will lose ground and others will gain because the relationship between the various roles have changed to meet the new demands of the new policy.

When the black high school is considered in this context, the policy to desegregate the dual school system in North Carolina produced profound changes in the lives of the staff, students, and parents who made up the social system of the black high school. The roles that characterized life for individuals in the black high school were eliminated when schools were integrated. Behavior patterns that were effective in the black high school were no longer

functional and success-producing in the desegregated schools. In the beginning, there were many conflicts which resulted from individuals in the desegregated high school not knowing what their role expectations were. Many of the expulsions and suspensions* of black students that occurred immediately after desegregation (and which still occur with a high degree of frequency in too many schools in some areas) were the direct result of changed role expectations created by the policy to desegregate schools. Until the desegregated school learns to accommodate the different role expectations of those it serves and who serve it or to change its role expectations so that they complement each other, the conflict will continue and everybody loses--the student, the staff, the community, and the nation as a whole. The impact of policy changes on the social system of a school is so critical to the quality of the experiences that students, staff, and pupils can receive that the subject warrants more careful study than has been the case to date. Without such thoughtful and systematic consideration, high schools will continue to deteriorate and fail to serve students, in particular, and society, in general, and any attempt to alter their ill-fated course by making cosmetic changes in curricula offerings, inservice training and human relations sessions will be unsuccessful. The social dynamic that characterizes too many high schools in America today cries out for a forceful and quick redirection of effort.

Proposition 1: New policy creates role inconsistency in social systems expected to implement that policy.

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* This problem is well documented and treated in a report published by the Southern Regional Council and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial. The document is entitled, The Student Pushout: Victim of Continued Resistance to Desegregation. It is must reading for anyone who is trying to understand what has been happening to black youth outside the South for a number of years and what is beginning to happen to blacks in the South at the present time during their high school experience. The conditions facing black youth today in many high schools suggest that the black community is under attack again at its very core.

Inference 2: When funds are allocated for educational services they are based on aggregated data, however, the distribution of educational services are determined by disaggregated data.

Support for this inference resulted from our observation of state allocation of funds to local school districts on a per student basis to buy specific educational services. For example, the state provided $3.99 per student to each school district for the purchase of library materials and supplies. Our data reveal that 71.8% of all black high schools spent less than that amount and 29.5% spent less than half the state's allocation. The remaining 28.2% of the black high schools reported that they spent more than the state allocation ($3.99) per student for library materials and supplies. This funding was intriguing because the state reported that $3.99 was allocated and spent on library materials and supplies for each student.

Interviews with former black principals and white superintendents reveal some interesting insights into the problem. The black principals indicated that many times they did not receive any funds from the local superintendent for library materials and supplies. Whenever they received these funds they were often only a fraction of the state allocation per student. In the main, black principals reported that they themselves were expected to raise money to purchase library materials and supplies for their schools. When we interviewed some of the white superintendents they revealed some information on how these state allocated funds were distributed locally. The general formula followed by some superintendents was ten to one. That is, ten times more of the available money was spent on the white student than on the black student for library materials and supplies. Using the state allocation per student as the base figure, $7.13 for each white student and $.80 for each black student would be provided locally for the purchase of library materials and supplies. However, the biennial reports published by the state indicated that

$3.99 per student was spent for the purchase of these educational services. Clearly the black student failed to receive what the state had allocated even though published state data suggested that he received his share.

We believe that this is not an isolated incident and that this practice is still quite common. Certain students in school receive far fewer educational services than were allocated for them, and furthermore, the system of accountability does not reveal this discrepancy. It is our thinking that as long as there is confusion on the nature and adequacy of data for making certain kinds of decisions, accountability for allocating funds cannot be determined by the taxpaying public that makes these funds available for use on all children. When local school systems aggregate data on money spent per student it is easy for the public to be misled into believing that each student received the same amount of educational services. Therefore, the public can be easily deceived into thinking that an educational service was purchased for each student when this was not the case. As long as data are presented in this way, it will not be possible to establish any standards of accountability for educating specific groups of students served by the school. Unless the public is provided with a means to compare the amount of money allocated with the amount of educational services actually received by each student, it will remain impossible to judge whether the school is serving the public it is supposed to serve.

Proposition 2: The aggregation of data serves to facilitate some educational decisions and to distort others.

Inference 3: A social system serves many purposes that are further reaching than the goals conceptualized for that system.

The black high school as an institution was given a specific social function in its community in particular and in the society in general. It was expected that the black high school would provide educational services for

black youth within the general framework of community expectations and the particular requirements of the State School Code. Community expectations and legal requirements defined the black high school as an institution with a specific social function in society. In attempting to fulfill its expected social function in society, the black high school operated as a social system with a wholeness and pulse beat geared to serve those inside and outside its direct influence. The black high school as a social institution had to deal with the role interactions and personal opportunities afforded individuals who were affected by the system.

One example of the black high school's influence as a social system becomes evident when viewed in terms of the role and opportunities of the black principal. Our data revealed that the black high school principal played a variety of leadership roles within and outside the black community. As the administrative and perceived leader of the black high school, the black principal became visible to the larger community which in turn made him attractive for fulfilling other roles. Likewise, if the black high school principal chose to stay in the black high school he still had high status, community acceptance, psychological support, meaningful activities to perform, and value as a person. As a social system, the black high school offered the black high school principal a choice between these equally attractive options. Without the presence of the black high school this kind of opportunity and choice of options would not have been available on a broad basis for a large number of black professionals.

Another example of the influence of the black high school as a social system is associated with the leadership and apprenticeship opportunities it offered black students, staff, and laymen. In the first instance, black students were expected to fill leadership and apprenticeship positions that

occurred naturally as part of the operational components of the black high school. Leadership and apprenticeship opportunities in organized extra-curricular activities offered real and meaningful roles that enabled black students to participate in an activity that enabled them to practice skills that were directly transferable to fostering effective work in the community and during adulthood. Since the roles black students filled were real, personally meaningful, and an integral part of the social system characterizing the black high school, these students learned a great deal more about themselves and their abilities than would have been possible through the content program of the curricular system of the school alone and they were able to be successful in the psychologically supporting system that the black high school provided. This made them more likely to achieve success in other social systems encountered later in life. The black high school as a social system represented a training community for black students because it provided them with some of the opportunities to practice certain skills and attitudes that would have been unavailable to them in the larger community. For the black student in North Carolina this kind of experience was likely to exert a profound influence on his chances and choices throughout his life.

When the staff of the black high school are viewed as members of a social system, their roles gain a deeper meaning for them personally and a broader scope professionally. Since the staff was directly responsible for implementing, operating, maintaining, and ensuring the quality of curricular and extracurricular programs, they were afforded opportunities to learn things that lay outside their special field of study or specific instructional assignment. The staff was responsible for helping students learn the roles required to conduct both the curricular and extracurricular program of the school. It was the responsibility of the staff to communicate and teach students both formally and by example the rules of procedure, traditional

practice, and community standards governing what was expected of students performing certain roles. This requirement made it possible for the staff of the black high school to become involved with students officially on a total person-to-person basis. The guidance the staff offered students was closely tied to a summary evaluation of their talents, desires, and values because it resulted from an evaluation of students' activities in a variety of behavior settings formed over a long period. This fact made staff members of the black high school keenly aware of the match between the personal characteristics of the students and the opportunities available to them in the community and the larger world. The staff's role in providing guidance for students was a natural outgrowth of the curricular and extracurricular activities they experienced in common with their students. The black high school was a total experience for its students.

One other aspect of involvement in the black high school which offered staff members a broader experience than their specific instructional assignments, included opportunities to participate in meaningful leadership and apprenticeship roles which were necessary for the operation of the school. Opportunities to head departments, assist others in managing complex activities, chair committees, head and administer special fund drives, coordinate community related activities, and participate in professional organizations at the local, state, and national levels, were available to any staff member if he were interested. The black high school offered staff members many opportunities for leadership experiences enabling them to gain personal status within and outside the school, to have meaningful and rewarding involvement, and to achieve personal advancement within and outside the school. The black high school as a social system made it possible for staff members to fulfill personal aspirations as an integral part of their professional responsibility. This made the black high school a personal experience as well as a professional one for its black staff.

The black high school as a social system involved the black layman in meaningful and useful ways. Black laymen participated in fund raising drives, cooperative organizations (P.T.A., Parent Committees, etc.), social and civic organizations, (fraternities, sororities, United Way, etc.), and specialized clubs sponsored by the school to support its programs and other programs in the community. The key to layman participation in terms of the black high school was related to the fact that the activity in question involved the school and its occupants as a precondition for success and as such could be an extention of the school's program or an aid to the community-based activity. One of the values of lay participation in school related or associated programs and activities is the opportunity it afforded laymen to participate in shaping, guiding, and operating the activity in question. Laymen could serve in leadership positions and deal with significant community and school problems in cooperation with the black high school staff. The black layman felt himself to be an integral part of the school's programs and problems. While black laymen felt obliged to support the black high school's programs, they also thought of themselves as a significant factor in finding solutions to problems that involved them. Since the black layman had complete access to the facilities and staff of the black high school, he was provided with a meaningful setting for involvement and learning new skills. As a consequence, the black layman felt that he was an intimate and integral part of the school and its program.

Proposition # 3: If there are meaningful opportunities for individuals to become involved in siginificant roles, these individuals will gain additional and transferable skills that contribute directly to personal and community development.

Inference # 4: When two groups who were socialized or expected to be socialized in different social systems are combined, the social system of one group will prevail as the social system to be followed by both groups. Therefore, the social system for the combined groups represents a familiar and supportive environment for one group and a new and alien environment for the other group. This causes one group to experience an ecological environment that is "balanced" while the other group experiences an ecological environment that is "imbalanced."

The balance notion of the ecological environment of a school is interjected by the writer to explain how the social system of the black high school tended to affect the black student. As long as the black student knew what was expected of him and acted to fulfill that role expectation, the social system of the black high school was an environment with ecological balance for him. The same was true for the white student in his school environment. In order to provide the reader with a better picture of how black and white students' role expectations and actions were in concert with the ecological environment of their respective schools, examples involving both students will be presented in parallel form.

Our first example deals with the enforcement of dress regulations. Many black male students like to wear hats that are colorful and unusual in some way. While the black high school had regulations against wearing hats inside the school building, any male student seen wearing one would be calmly asked to remove it and in most instances the student would comply. However, it was not unusual for the same student to put his hat back on his head once he was not in the presence of the staff member who asked him to remove his hat. When a black student was seen a second time with his hat on, he was reminded to remove his hat as calmly as he was the first time around. There was hardly any threat of punishment because the offense was not considered a major one. In short, the role expectation regarding hat wearing inside the school building was known and accepted by the staff and students, and the degree of

force used to make students comply with regulations concerning the wearing of hats inside the school building was tempered by the amount of seriousness staff members placed on the offense in terms of the school's purpose.

A white male student would not be allowed to wear his hat inside the white high school and he would be expected not to. If he did, that would represent a breach of school regulations. If a white student was observed wearing his hat indoors he was likely to be given a stern lecture by a staff member concerning his disrespect for school rules and regulations and for his fellow students and associates in the school. Along with the reprimand, a white student just might be given a strong warning that promised definite reprisals if he were again observed exhibiting the same behavior. Many times a notation on the student's record might be made so that a second offense would be treated according to the reprisals promise at the time of the first offense. If a white student were observed by the same staff member engaging in the same behavior (wearing his hat inside the school building), he was almost certain to be punished or suspended since he would be seen as lacking personal discipline and as being disrespectful to the school's practices and regulations. For this he would be punished and his parents would be involved in answering for such unbecoming and unexpected behavior on the part of the student. In the white school this was a serious offense.

The two examples discussed above show how similar behaviors by different students attending different high schools in the same school system are viewed and interpreted differently because the social system of the two schools demand different role expectations. In the black high school, hat wearing was thought of as a relatively minor offense and consistent with the life style of the students. Though rules governing hat wearing in the black school were enforced, few staff would agree that this behavior was serious enough to warrant strong reprimands or punishment. The social system of the black high school accommodated

the life styles of the students it served and the role expectations of all participants were seen in this light. The ecological environment of the black high school was balanced for the black student and in harmony with his life style with regard to role expectations. Likewise, the white student in the white high school had a role expectation consistent with his life style. Since the wearing of hats inside buildings represented a serious breach of school regulations and community social codes, the white high school was more likely to enforce rules governing this behavior more vigorously in accord with the letter of the law. Because the white student was appraised of the role expectations and associated penalties, the social system of the white high school represented a balanced ecological environment that was in harmony with his life style. When the role expectations of a social system are known and accepted by the participants interacting in that social system, the ecological environment of that social system is balanced and likely to be in harmony with the life styles of those to be served. This seems to be the case when similar black and white student behaviors are studied within the context of their respective school settings.

After the black and white high school were desegregated, the social system of the "integrated" school in many instances did not serve either group consistently or well in some instances. In most instances one social system that was consistent with the life styles of one group became the official ecological environmental setting for all participants in the school. This immediately represented a situation of ecological imbalance for the group of participants whose life styles were not considered in the social system of the "integrated" high school. To demonstrate this notion concretely, let us return to the hat wearing example. The vast majority of the "integrated" high schools in North Carolina took on the social system of the former white high school as the basis for determining the role expectations of all school participants.

For the white student, rules dealing with wearing hats inside the school represented business as usual--ecological balance. On the other hand, these hat wearing rules represented a completely different reality for many black students and for them the new social system of the school was inconsistent with their life styles and preconceived expectations--ecological imbalance. The social system of the "integrated" school was consistent with the role expectations of the white student but not with the role expectations of many of his black counterparts. As a result many black students were expelled or suspended for infractions that would have been considered minor in the black high school. This phenomenon is documented in The Student Pushout, a document published by the Southern Regional Council and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial. A representative sample of the problems are presented here to illustrate how various students were affected in many Southern school districts after the desegregation of schools. Documenced experiences of interest include the comments presented below:

> School officials and community leaders often have widely different explanations for suspensions and expulsions and the disparity between the numbers of blacks and whites subjected to those actions. Yet sometimes they agree. And sometimes, the official viewpoint reveals underlying attitudes.
>
> The official reasons, the immediate causes given for most suspensions or expulsions, are common in every state and school district and are echoed in the words of nearly every school official. The reason most often assigned is given a number of different labels--disrespect for authority, insubordination, or disobedience. Other, somewhat less common reasons listed are fighting, gambling, possession of weapons, use of intoxicants, smoking, truancy, habitual violation of rules, and excessive tardiness.
>
> While students' comments revealed support for order and rules to maintain order, young people sharply critized (1) the arbitrary nature of the rules; (2) the unequal application of them, including what they viewed as open discrimination; (3) the misuse of authority; and (4) the failure of teachers and administrators to see and understand deep-rooted personal, social, and other factors which cause misbehavior.[1]

[1] The Student Pushout: Victim of Continued Resistance to Desegregation, p.12.

Our study of the black high school revealed that the rules governing black students in black schools could be criticized for the same reason offered in the case of "integrated" schools. However, the difference for the black student was related to the enforcement and the perception of the enforcement of the rules by school officials. Since human judgment plays such a crucial role in the enforcement and application of school rules to student behavior, the person charged with the responsibility for making those judgments determines the social system that is to be honored and the nature of the ecological environment of the school. In most instances, black students in "integrated" schools felt that white authority was arbitrarily imposed and that they were most likely to suffer as a result. For the black student the ecological environment of the "integrated" school was imbalanced and alien to his life style. There was always confusion between the "rules of governance" and the "application of these rules" for the black student in the "integrated" school. This appeared not to have been generally the case when black students attended black high schools.

Further reading in The Student Pushout reveals more concrete examples that are helpful in giving a more complete picture of the environmental press affecting black students in newly desegregated high schools. According to this work:

> The rules and variation of them seem endless as causes leading to suspension or expulsion, as the students view them. They include a host of minor infractions, such as "cutting lunch line," "having a cigarette on me," "wearing another girl's gym suit," "smoking," "leaving a tray on the lunchroom table," "cursing," "not putting in my shirt tail," and "not having tennis shoes for P.E."
>
> Especially in newly desegregated schools what seem like minor infractions may lead to big explosions. Often, in the first stages of desegregation, suspicions are widespread and tempers hot. Real or imagined fear of harassment can keep the threats of violence simmering and one minor brush with authority can mark a student for later discipline.[2]

[2] Ibid. pp.13-14.

A quick review of the infractions noted would lead one to note that the importance placed on each one is highly subject to human judgment and social preference. In some instances, school authorities have no legal right to enforce rules (i.e. dress codes, etc.). Our study of the black high school revealed that many of the infractions noted above would have been treated as minor and dealt with accordingly by mutual agreement between the staff member and the student. This change in role expectations and rule enforcement styles and preferences created great difficulty for large numbers of black students in newly desegregated schools. The ecology of their new environment (desegregated high schools) was definitely no longer in a balanced relationship with the life styles and role expectations of the black students.

When black students were asked about some of the environmental changes they encountered in newly desegregated schools, they revealed specific details that enable us to make a more precise comparison with their experiences in the black high school. In the newly desegregated high schools:

> According to student reports, the most numerous offenses leading to suspensions or expulsions are fighting among students and conflict with leaders and administrators.
>
> Here again the list of causes is almost as long as the roll of students interviewed: conflict with principal..disagreement with teacher.. speaking opinion...argument...didn't want teacher if she moved me out of the seat, she should move white people too...teacher accused the student of saying something he didn't say...disrespect for the teacher... threatening a teacher...talking smart...pushing teacher when pushed... talking in class...laughing in class...disobeying classroom rules... not bringing books...not obeying orders...not working...not writing the preamble to the Constitution..not co-operating...not turning in Senior proofs...not doing school work...not having money for pictures.
>
> Student activists are obvious targets of discipline, some for clear reasons, some for questionable cause; being a leader in a walk out... wearing a black arm band...boycotts...sit-ins.[3]

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[3] Ibid. p.14.

In the black high school student behaviors that were treated as major infractions in the desegregated school generally occurred too infrequently and were too minor to be of great concern or to warrant official systematic corrective action. Our data suggest that the behavior of black students in the desegregated high school was essentially unchanged from the behavior they exhibited while attending the black high school. The black student responded in relation to the expectations of the school and the actions of the staff. When there was an abrupt change in the expectations and actions of the staff in the desegregated school, the black student's responses were not synchronized with the social system of the school he now attended and this new environment presented him with an imbalanced ecological structure. Until the environment of the school acquires an ecological balance for the black student, he will continue to remain outside the social system of the school he attends. Therefore, black students will be systematically deprived of the opportunity to become an integral part of the prevailing social system and to learn those skills that are greater and further reaching than those skills associated with the formal instructional program of the school. Since black students previously had the experience of participating fully in the black high school, it is a great loss to the black student today if the schools he attends operate on the basis of a social system that denies him access to a total learning experience. If the social system of a particular school fails to support a given student's aspirations, needs, and desires, written rules of procedure will be of little help because rules of procedure are ultimately translated in terms of the prevailing social system.

Proposition # 4: The ultimate utility of the school for a given student is dependent upon the extent to which the school's social system represents a balanced ecological environment for him.

Inference # 5: The study of one segment of public educational practice is necessarily tied to the study of public education in general.

The study of the black high school and its effects on community development in North Carolina provides us both with insight into the specialized problems and opportunities associated with black schools in particular and all public schools in general. Our study reveals that education in the black high school reflected the values, aspirations, desires, hopes and opportunities of the black community while fulfilling the legal requirements and expectations of the state and general public. The problems and opportunities that characterized the black high school were closely tied to the social conditions in the community and the general welfare of the total population. Therefore, a detailed study of the black high school provides one with two important areas for developing meaningful perspectives: (1) The life of black students in black schools and communities and (2) the black school in the black community and in public education.

Our data reveal that the black student experienced a total involvement in the life of the black high school and performed those roles that enabled the school to conduct a full program of curricular and extracurricular activities. The black student in the black high school could aspire to hold any leadership or apprenticeship position that was available. He was limited only by the strength of his individual determination and talents. In addition there were many choices opened to him for personal involvement in meaningful activities. Most of the students' activities in black schools involved members of the black community because the activities represented the opportunities available for improving the quality of life for the whole community at the time and in the future. The black community saw the black high school as an instrument for the development and improvement of their youth in particular and raising the level of existence in the black community in general.

Clearly, our study showed that the black community's fate in North Carolina was tied to that of the black high school. The black community had a crucial stake in working and fighting for the survival of the black high school as an institution geared to their needs and opportunities.

When the black high school is viewed in terms of public education, we can observe how the goals of society can be met in a specialized setting. Even though the specialized setting may be generally unknown to the total population, goals can be attained that serve the total population. In addition, that specialized setting may tend to serve the actual participants more effectively as a total experience than would be the case in an institutional setting which purported to provide the same service without reference to the particular characteristics of those being served. Therein lies one justification for rating the black high school as being extremely effective in carrying out the mandates of public education.

The black high school did a credible job in fulfilling the charges outlined by the state for providing public education, and it provided as well a much broader experience for youth, thus contributing directly to the development of the black community. Leadership, apprenticeship, and participation opportunities provided by the black high school for black staff, students, and laymen helped to develop the community's capability to act on its own behalf. The black high school also made it possible for black citizens--young and old--to practice and develop in a realistic laboratory those skills that were required to better the conditions of their lives. Since opportunities to practice and develop these skills were not widely or generally available in other institutions in the local black community, the black high school filled a void that would not have otherwise been filled. For that reason the black high school was a vital experience in the life of the black community and contributed immeasurably to the progress recorded in many of these communities over the years they existed.

Proposition # 5: Since problems in public education are interrelated, the conduct of one well defined segment of educational practice is reflective of the conduct of the total enterprise.

Inference # 6: Legal mandates and policy formations directed at integration contributed directly to the consolidation of schools in a number of local communities. School consolidation problems may have contributed as much to the administrative difficulty of high schools as did the desegregation of schools.

Most of the research on school desegregation problems centers on either the legal or the attitudinal components of the issues and problems associated with the effectiveness of the school. Such things as equal access, fair treatment, student interaction patterns, individual psychological states (self concept, personal involvement, etc.), and geographic and demographic relationships to educational outcome, tend to shape the majority of the research studies involving school desegregation. Very little, if any, research is focused on the structural changes that occur in certain areas as a by-product of school desegregation. This oversight is partly related to the complexity of the interaction of critical variables that are not usually taken into account as a starting point for initiating educational research.

The demographic patterns in states that had de jure school segregation as opposed to de facto school segregation were much different and those differences alter drastically the shape of school desegregation and its effects on the structure of school programs. The majority of high schools were located in small towns that ordinarily would have required only one school to house all grades. In addition most of these towns had a black population that lived in many areas throughout the area in question. Segregation in the South was primarily confined to social areas and did not include physical proximity as a prime factor in determining residence. Blacks and whites tended to live close by each other in most areas in North Carolina and throughout the South. These demographic factors had a profound influence on the structural shape of high schools in North Carolina after school desegregation.

The first structural effect was associated with the fact that most of the towns in North Carolina that had two high schools (one white and one black) ended up with one high school after school desegregation. In many instances the school population of the local high school facility more than doubled in size. This represents a structural change for the local school's programs and practices, in addition to the social and traditional changes inherent in school desegregation. There were few professionals in North Carolina who had had any prior experience in administering or working in schools of the size that schools became overnight in North Carolina. According to Barker and Gump,[4] the size of a high school can have profound effects on the behavior of students. Therefore many of the school problems attributed to attitudinal and social problems between students, between students and staff, and between staff can be explained in part by factors related to changes in the size of the school population. To continue to explain or associate school output (achievement, student participation, life success, etc.) only in terms of attitudinal and social interaction problems is to restrict one's explanatory power to factors that do not account for much of the observed variance. Further research in this area must take into account size as a variable in the study of desegregated schools in North Carolina and in the South.

Earlier we noted that in 1963-64 only 7.5% of the administrative units had one high school; by 1973-74 the percentage of administrative units with one high school increased to 45.6%. In addition, there was a reduction in the total number of high schools in the state from 719 in 1963-64 to 366 in 1973-74, an elimination of 353 high schools in North Carolina. These two factors related to school consolidation (increased school size and reduction in the number of schools) tended to profoundly affect the programs and

4 Roger G. Barker and Paul V. Gump, Big School, Small School: High School Size and Student Behavior, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1964.

practices of the public high schools in North Carolina. Public high schools after desegregation became much more complex in their organizational structure and the scope of their programs were broadened considerably. New roles dictated by these structural changes affected staff, students, and laymen alike. It is easy to attribute the black community's distance and estrangement after desegregation to social and attitudinal factors associated with school desegregation rather than to factors of size. This may prove to have been a grave error on the part of educational researchers. Such errors may have been instrumental in focusing the attention of policy makers on the wrong factors as they tried to work out some of the problems that appeared in high schools immediately after school desegregation.

Proposition # 6: Structural changes in schools have a greater impact on the nature of program and practices and on the resulting outcomes than do social and attitudinal factors, which themselves are often a result of structural changes.

Inference # 7: The school experience of black and white youth was altered greatly as a result of desegregation. A greater number of students appear to have previously obtained a broader exposure to certain kinds of experiences than is the case in desegregated schools.

During the 1963-64 school year both black and white students engaged in many activities sponsored by the high school and in various classes which were more social than educational. These activities included social dances of various kinds, junior-senior prom, junior-senior trips, hay rides, special parties to celebrate special events, and socio-civic events that also included laymen. Many of these activities could be clearly labeled "premating" activities. For our purposes, "premating" activities are those social or extracurricular activities sponsored by the school to provide teenage youth with acceptable and wholesome opportunities to interact with age mates who might be candidates for marriage. This role of the school in sponsoring "premating" activities was much more pronounced in smaller communities where other recreational

and social opportunities were severely limited. Often the high school represented the only facility large enough to accommodate more than a few people at one time for any social event. Without the high school, few high school students, black or white, would have been afforded the opportunity to take part in formal dances or related affairs or to take a trip to some historic setting away from home. The high school offered a social outlet for students who lived in communities which were otherwise without the means to provide this outlet.

After the onset of school desegregation in North Carolina, most "premating" activities sponsored by the high school disappeared immediately, Any activity that made it possible for teenagers of the opposite sex to have social contact after and during the school day were eliminated. Because of the long history of social separation between the races in North Carolina, few, if any, communities would permit the high school to sponsor any activity that increased the probability of social contact and interaction between youth at the premating stage. In the majority of communities both black and white students suffered when the high school refused to continue to sponsor social activities for all students in the community. Since most communities could not afford, or did not have the desire to provide alternate settings for meaningful and wholesome social contact between teenage youth outside the school, students were left to their own devices in forming a social posture to fit the changing scene. In most instances the patterns worked out by the students were less acceptable than the social activities that would have resulted under the guidance and sponsorship of the school.

Social activities initiated by the students themselves immediately following school desegregation generally fell just outside the law or the moral standards of the community as a whole. There were increased instances of wild

parties in isolated areas and in night spots that bent the rules governing the serving of alcoholic beverages to underage youth. Some professionals reported that there was also a marked increase in sexual activity. This tended to force personal relationships between students to become more permanent than might have been the case if there had been greater opportunities for them to come into social contact with a greater variety of age mates. In addition, the opportunity for students to be exposed to those social patterns enabling them to make relevant decisions about social reality was limited. This was a definite loss for all students after school desegregation in North Carolina.

Another limitation imposed on black students after school desegregation occurred in the program areas. The example we have comes from a study of the special events "circulars" or "programs" of music (choral music, and band) and drama (plays, skits, and debate) activities that were part of the local, regional, and state-wide extracurricular experiences of students in the black high school. Programs from choral music and band performances reveal that black students who participated in such extracurricular activities were exposed to and performed many types of music by many different composers. Performances included classical, popular, religious, and comic numbers. The composers of the selected works came from many different cultural backgrounds and from many different eras. Works by black composers were performed, but the majority of what was performed was not by black composers.

In dramatics, students in black high schools performed a variety of works, written by authors from different eras and cultural backgrounds, which dealt with a variety of subjects and explored the complexity of the human condition. Shakespearean works were as much candidates for performance by black students as were works written by Leroi Jones or Lorraine Hansberry. The black student

in the black high school was generally exposed to a wide variety of literature covering all phases of life in America and other lands at different times and in a variety of contexts. This exposure helped many black students to broaden their experience vicariously and to aspire to goals that were not inherent in their personal daily experiences in their local communities.

There is some evidence that extracurricular exposure to music and literature (includes dramatics) for black students has changed for the worse as high schools desegregate. Since many of the staff (mostly white at the present) who are responsible for extracurricular activities are not really familiar with the works of black artists and authors, they are unable to help provide black students with as balanced a diet of literary and musical works as did the black high school. As a concession to black students and their parents, many staff have permitted these students to perform only the works of blacks in literature and music without requiring that they be exposed to works by non blacks. In short, the literary and musical works become color typed and limited to performance by specific groups of students. This practice severely limits the quality, depth, and breadth of experiences that black students are exposed to in too many desegregated school settings today. If black students' exposure continues to be limited in this way, their opportunities for choice will be limited by the fact that the school has failed to make available to them a wide range of experiences. Now that schools are desegregated, programs must realize their responsibility to extend the range of experience for a greater number of students from different backgrounds who want some of the same things from life--to share equally in the prosperity of the nation while they contribute to improving the general welfare. The school experiences each student has is critical to the direction that his life takes and to the choices he has.

Proposition # 7: Accommodation to superficial criteria limits the range, depth, and breadth of experience a student is exposed to in his program of study.

Inference # 8: Catering to the ethnic and racial differences in a school creates an unmanageable and a negative view of handling desegregated schools. If pluralism is used as an organizing principle in desegregated schools, the practices that evolve are likely to have a detrimental effect on the students that are served.

The inferences outlined above grow out of programs in desegregated schools that are designed to cater to ethnic differences and to foster the values of pluralism as manifested in cultural groups and adaptations. This is evidenced by the creation of black studies programs, black student organizations, and black performance groups within the school. In itself, this development is not a bad practice. However, the danger is always present that these practices are thought of as the exclusive property of black students and for all black students. The idea evolves and it becomes accepted that all blacks share a common ethnic and experiencial background and would be interested in a program designed especially for them. Carrying the idea further, members of the school community begin to accept the idea that the presence of these special ethnic programs have taken care of all the concerns, problems, and interests of all black students attending the school. Therefore, it is concluded that there is no further need to continue to make basic changes in the structure of the school to make its services more generally available to all students.

In this way ethnic studies and activities become a trap for black students who would like to have other experiences and would like to participate in other activities. If the school atmosphere causes a student to feel that he has a special place provided apart from the general services available in the school's program, it deprives this student of the freedom of choice that is so necessary for personal growth and development. Ethnic studies and activities are a sensitive issue in desegregated schools and cause a

great deal of uneasiness on both sides. To segregate students for any reason within a desegregated school is to provide them with more or less than their equal share of available educational services. As for the black student, evidence suggests that many are receiving less than their equal share of educational services because ideology rather than institutional purpose is shaping decisions related to the allocation and delivery of educational services. This is and will continue to be a crucial problem facing desegregated schools in North Carolina and throughout the country.

Proposition # 8: Special programs that cater to special groups of students divert human and material resources from the core program to activities of questionable educational value.

Epilogue: We have looked at the black high school from many points of view, but we feel we ought to include one more just briefly. We chose to use the academic year 1963-64 as the basis for our descriptive study of the black high school. After that year, the desegregation of schools across all of North Carolina began, bringing with it many of the problems we discussed in Part VII of this study. But the period from 1964 on saw more than just the desegregation of North Carolina's schools. It was a period of unrest affecting many areas of life throughout the nation as a whole. Even in schools in states which had not been forced to integrate their schools, there were complaints that students had lost respect for authority, that they would not obey parents or school officials. Dress codes were no longer enforceable; students began experimenting with drugs; there was an increase in petty thievery and vandalism in general. Students seemed to have rejected their parents' values, goals, and aspirations. They became concerned with things well beyond the scope of the school, such as the Viet Nam War and racial injustice and strife.

Many of the problems stemming from the transition from segregated high schools to desegregated high schools were most likely exascerbated by the

general unrest and feelings of alienation which characterized the attitudes of many young people at the time. This observation does not detract from one of the propositions in Part VII which is central to our discussion on the black high school. That proposition states basically that structural changes have a great impact not only on the institution in which they occur, but also on the attitudes of those people who are part of that particular institution. The notion behind that proposition in fact can be extended to society as a whole during the period of the 1960's. The structure upon which people had built and planned their lives was undermined making for unrest particularly among the nation's youth. This disintegration probably did much to worsen what was essentially a catastrophic blow to the organization of black communities in North Carolina: the loss of their central unifying institution, the black high school.

APPENDICES

Table 2.–COUNTIES

[Minus (–) denotes decrease]

Codes: SMSA	Codes: SEA	Codes: State and county	County	Population and area, 1960: Total population	Population and area, 1960: U.S. population rank	Population and area, 1960: Land area	Population and area, 1960: Population per square mile	Population change, 1950–1960: Total	Population change, 1950–1960: Net migration	Population change, 1950–1960: Natural increase	Natural increase in population, 1960–1965	Population characteristics, 1960: Urban	Population characteristics, 1960: Negro	Population characteristics, 1960: Foreign stock	Population characteristics, 1960: 65 years old and over	Vote cast for President (D-Dem.; R-Rep.): Total, 1964	Vote for leading party: 1964	Vote for leading party: 1960
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
			NORTH CAROLINA			Sq. mi.		Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent		Percent	Percent
–		34–	The State	4 556 155	(x)	49 067	93	12.2	–8.1	20.2	7.6	39.5	24.5	1.5	6.9	1 424 983	D–56.2	D–52.1
–	3	34–001	Alamance	85 674	350	434	197	20.3	–1.0	21.3	7.7	51.2	17.2	1.0	6.4	30 574	D–50.4	R–52.1
–	2	34–002	Alexander	15 625	1 768	255	61	7.4	–8.1	15.4	6.7	–	6.8	0.2	8.0	7 482	R–50.3	R–51.3
–	1	34–003	Alleghany	7 734	2 531	230	34	–5.2	–14.5	9.4	4.1	–	2.7	0.5	11.6	3 941	D–60.1	D–51.7
–	5	34–004	Anson	24 962	1 183	533	47	–6.8	–24.6	17.8	5.7	19.0	47.9	0.2	8.5	5 865	D–70.7	D–72.1
–	1	34–005	Ashe	19 768	1 458	427	46	–9.6	–24.6	14.9	5.6	–	1.0	0.4	10.2	9 156	D–54.2	R–51.9
–	1	34–006	Avery	12 009	2 072	247	49	–10.1	–26.3	16.2	6.4	–	1.3	0.5	8.8	4 179	R–63.6	R–80.0
–	10	34–007	Beaufort	36 014	855	831	43	–3.0	–19.8	16.8	5.3	27.6	36.9	1.0	8.5	9 685	D–62.9	D–69.2
–	7	34–008	Bertie	24 350	1 210	693	35	–7.9	–28.4	20.5	6.5	–	59.3	0.4	8.0	4 263	D–78.2	D–86.5
–	11	34–009	Bladen	28 881	1 049	879	33	–2.8	–25.0	22.2	6.2	–	41.4	0.2	6.9	6 685	D–67.6	D–70.1
220	11	34–010	Brunswick	20 278	1 424	873	23	5.4	–14.2	19.6	7.3	–	35.3	0.8	7.2	7 961	D–53.3	D–59.6
012	A	34–011	Buncombe	130 074	238	645	202	4.6	–8.2	12.8	5.3	52.7	10.8	2.9	10.0	50 995	D–62.0	R–54.6
–	2	34–012	Burke	52 701	573	506	104	15.8	–0.9	16.6	6.4	23.0	7.0	1.2	7.6	22 896	D–56.0	R–56.3
–	4	34–013	Cabarrus	68 137	444	360	189	6.8	–10.7	17.5	6.3	67.7	15.9	0.6	6.7	25 099	R–52.5	R–64.4
–	2	34–014	Caldwell	49 552	603	476	104	14.3	–6.9	21.2	8.8	26.0	7.0	0.5	6.1	19 579	D–55.4	R–57.0
–	10	34–015	Camden	5 598	2 765	239	23	7.2	–11.3	18.5	6.8	–	42.1	0.3	8.7	1 404	D–62.0	D–75.0
–	11	34–016	Carteret	30 940	986	532	58	34.2	12.4	21.8	6.4	27.5	11.9	2.9	6.9	10 520	D–59.2	D–54.0
–	3	34–017	Caswell	19 912	1 452	435	46	–4.6	–23.7	19.1	5.5	–	48.0	0.2	7.0	4 306	D–58.4	D–69.0
–	4	34–018	Catawba	73 191	413	406	180	18.4	–2.7	21.1	8.1	44.1	9.2	0.8	6.2	32 930	R–52.0	R–53.6
–	4	34–019	Chatham	26 785	1 114	707	38	5.5	–10.5	15.0	5.2	16.6	31.4	0.6	8.4	9 406	D–56.3	D–52.1
–	1	34–020	Cherokee	16 335	1 710	454	36	–10.7	–24.9	14.2	3.9	–	1.9	0.8	10.4	6 929	D–55.2	R–57.3
–	7	34–021	Chowan	11 729	2 099	180	65	–6.5	–27.2	20.8	6.2	38.0	46.6	0.5	8.1	2 483	D–68.3	D–78.3
–	2	34–022	Clay	5 526	2 771	213	26	–8.0	–23.4	15.4	3.9	–	0.9	1.0	11.4	2 743	D–53.1	R–56.7
–	5	34–023	Cleveland	66 048	458	466	142	2.6	–17.1	19.7	7.5	38.9	22.4	0.4	7.2	18 710	D–57.9	D–56.1
–	11	34–024	Columbus	48 973	612	939	52	–3.3	–25.3	22.1	7.7	9.6	33.2	0.4	6.3	13 475	D–66.8	D–74.1
–	11	34–025	Craven	58 773	514	725	81	20.4	–11.0	31.3	12.2	26.7	28.5	4.0	5.2	12 113	D–61.3	D–66.0
043	9	34–026	Cumberland	148 418	211	661	225	54.6	12.9	41.7	15.8	47.3	25.4	6.5	3.3	22 957	D–60.4	D–59.0
–	10	34–027	Currituck	6 601	2 647	273	24	6.5	–7.0	13.4	3.1	–	31.6	0.7	10.1	2 196	D–60.3	D–78.1
–	10	34–028	Dare	5 935	2 729	388	15	9.8	–2.3	12.1	4.5	–	6.8	1.6	10.7	2 343	D–63.0	D–[illegible]
–	4	34–029	Davidson	79 493	378	546	146	27.7	8.1	19.6	7.3	39.4	10.8	0.6	6.3	31 027	R–55.7	R–56.9
–	11	34–030	Davie	16 728	1 681	264	63	8.5	–7.2	15.7	6.1	–	12.3	0.4	9.0	7 546	R–59.1	R–56.0
056	F	34–031	Duplin	40 270	759	822	49	–2.0	–21.0	19.0	6.8	0.1	37.6	0.3	6.8	10 990	D–65.2	D–71.1
–	8	34–032	Durham	111 993	274	299	375	10.2	–6.5	16.7	6.6	75.6	32.0	2.4	6.7	38 136	D–60.0	D–57.4
–	8	34–033	Edgecombe	54 226	556	511	106	5.0	–17.4	22.4	7.8	42.9	51.8	0.5	6.2	11 766	D–66.6	D–77.9
221	9	34–034	Forsyth	189 428	173	424	447	29.6	10.1	19.5	7.7	69.2	24.1	1.7	6.2	61 891	D–51.1	R–58..
–	6	34–035	Franklin	28 755	1 055	494	58	–8.3	–24.3	16.1	5.7	10.0	44.2	0.3	7.7	6 651	D–64.5	D–82.1
–	5	34–036	Gaston	127 074	241	358	355	14.7	–7.6	22.2	7.7	61.8	13.0	0.9	5.9	37 326	D–54.1	R–51.4
–	7	34–037	Gates	9 254	2 341	343	27	–3.2	–18.4	15.2	5.4	–	54.1	0.2	9.6	2 258	D–75.4	D–80..
–	1	34–038	Graham	6 432	2 662	289	22	–6.6	–24.7	18.2	7.2	–	–	0.1	7.6	3 135	D–55.4	R–56.3
–	3	34–039	Granville	33 110	928	542	61	4.1	–12.7	16.8	6.1	21.1	44.4	0.9	8.2	7 220	D–65.7	D–73.3
–	8	34–040	Greene	10 741	1 677	269	62	–7.1	–30.5	23.4	7.9	–	50.3	0.4	4.4	3 613	D–75..	D–87.3
077	C	34–041	Guilford	246 520	129	651	379	29.0	8.1	20.9	7.8	75.1	20.8	2.0	6.1	75 604	D–62.9	R–57.6
–	7	34–042	Halifax	58 956	512	722	82	1.0	–20.8	21.8	7.9	32.7	54.2	0.6	6.6	13 709	D–66.3	D–79.1
–	6	34–043	Harnett	48 236	624	606	80	1.3	–17.2	18.6	6.8	22.3	27.0	0.6	6.7	13 360	D–56.0	D–59.6
–	1	34–044	Haywood	39 711	766	543	73	5.5	–10.5	16.0	6.6	28.3	2.2	1.2	8.2	16 239	D–65.7	R–51.6
–	1	34–045	Henderson	36 163	851	382	95	17.0	2.8	14.2	5.2	16.3	5.4	3.3	11.8	14 846	R–59..	R–73..
–	7	34–046	Hertford	22 718	1 285	356	64	5.9	–14.9	20.8	7.9	31.8	59.0	0.8	6.9	4 947	D–79.9	D–79.9
–	9	34–047	Hoke	16 356	1 708	381	43	19.5	–17.7	27.2	7.9	18.7	48.5	0.7	6.0	3 033	D–74.3	D–77.9
–	10	34–048	Hyde	5 765	2 756	634	9	–11.0	–23.9	12.9	2.7	–	42.2	0.8	13.0	1 641	D–68.7	D–70.5
–	4	34–049	Iredell	62 526	478	591	106	11.1	–6.1	17.2	7.5	42.8	17.8	0.8	7.8	24 123	R–53.4	R–52..
–	1	34–050	Jackson	17 780	1 594	495	36	–7.7	–21.3	13.7	5.4	–	1.9	0.7	9.4	8 088	D–60.6	R–55.7
–	8	34–051	Johnston	62 936	475	795	79	–4.5	–20.5	16.0	4.8	19.9	22.4	0.4	7.0	17 849	D–57.9	D–59.8
–	11	34–052	Jones	11 005	2 166	467	24	(Z)	–22.5	22.5	6.5	–	46.9	0.4	6.2	2 905	D–73.3	D–70.6
–	6	34–053	Lee	26 561	1 122	255	104	12.9	–9.6	22.5	8.6	46.1	22.2	1.4	6.7	7 483	D–63.2	D–64.6
–	8	34–054	Lenoir	59 276	540	391	141	20.3	–4.6	24.9	7.7	48.9	39.5	4.0	5.2	13 234	D–57.6	D–69.0
–	5	34–055	Lincoln	28 814	1 051	308	94	4.9	–12.5	17.5	6.1	19.8	12.2	0.4	7.8	13 173	D–55.4	R–50.3
–	2	34–056	McDowell	26 742	1 116	442	61	4.0	–16.0	20.0	6.5	12.5	5.1	0.3	7.6	10 488	D–60.2	R–55.7
–	1	34–057	Macon	14 935	1 818	517	29	–7.7	–21.9	14.2	4.5	–	1.9	0.9	10.7	6 674	D–56.5	R–54.7
–	1	34–058	Madison	17 217	1 640	456	38	–16.1	–27.2	11.1	4.1	–	0.7	0.3	9.9	7 165	D–53.4	D–50.7
–	7	34–059	Martin	27 139	1 101	481	56	–2.9	–24.7	21.9	7.0	25.5	49.9	0.1	6.1	6 332	D–76.1	D–88.8
037	D	34–060	Mecklenburg	272 111	113	542	502	38.1	14.6	23.5	8.9	78.0	24.5	2.5	5.7	96 171	D–51.6	R–55.1
–	1	34–061	Mitchell	13 906	1 901	220	63	–8.2	–23.2	15.1	4.4	18.0	0.3	0.3	8.9	4 999	R–65.3	R–80.4
–	4	34–062	Montgomery	18 408	1 555	488	38	6.7	–13.5	20.2	6.4	–	24.9	0.3	8.3	7 318	D–53.7	R–52.5
–	9	34–063	Moore	36 733	835	705	52	18.2	–13.9	32.1	7.1	14.2	26.3	2.1	8.7	11 546	D–55.3	R–51.2
–	8	34–064	Nash	61 002	400	552	111	1.8	–17.6	19.4	7.0	28.4	39.7	0.5	6.6	15 559	D–58.9	D–72.1
220	11	34–065	New Hanover	71 742	422	198	370	13.4	–4.1	17.5	5.9	69.0	27.7	3.2	7.6	24 724	D–50.9	D–57.4
–	7	34–066	Northampton	26 811	1 112	539	50	–5.7	–25.6	19.9	6.8	–	63.8	0.2	8.0	6 233	D–81.0	D–87.5
–	11	34–067	Onslow	82 706	364	756	109	96.7	49.9	46.8	17.7	21.3	12.7	6.5	2.0	9 726	D–[illegible]	D–66..
–	5	34–068	Orange	42 970	716	398	108	24.8	4.0	20.8	8.9	29.3	23.6	3.3	6.1	14 991	D–61..	D–57.9
–	11	34–069	Pamlico	9 850	2 392	341	29	–1.4	–17.0	15.6	4.4	–	36.7	0.6	9.0	2 900	D–64.3	D–61.5
–	10	34–070	Pasquotank	25 630	1 156	229	112	5.3	–15.2	20.5	7.4	54.9	39.5	1.3	7.8	6 649	D–64.2	D–71.3
–	11	34–071	Pender	18 508	1 543	857	22	0.5	–16.7	17.2	5.9	–	48.0	1.4	8.1	5 466	D–62.0	D–68.3
–	7	34–072	Perquimans	9 178	2 356	261	35	–4.4	–21.2	16.8	4.6	–	46.9	0.4	10.0	2 399	D–60.8	D–69.6
–	3	34–073	Person	26 394	1 126	400	66	8.3	–13.7	22.0	8.1	19.5	35.3	0.3	7.0	6 902	D–68.7	D–69.1
–	8	34–074	Pitt	69 942	429	656	107	9.6	–14.8	24.4	7.0	42.8	43.6	0.7	5.9	16 466	D–69.7	D–78.4
–	5	34–075	Polk	11 395	2 126	234	49	–2.0	–13.6	11.7	3.5	–	12.5	2.3	12.0	5 782	D–52.2	R–50.0
–	4	34–076	Randolph	61 497	485	801	77	21.0	2.3	18.7	6.3	25.3	8.3	0.4	6.9	24 377	R–56.4	R–6..7
–	9	34–077	Richmond	39 202	777	477	82	–1.0	–19.5	18.5	6.4	33.6	30.0	0.5	7.2	11 639	D–73.2	D–71.6
–	9	34–078	Robeson	89 102	336	944	94	1.5	–24.7	26.2	9.3	20.3	29.3	0.4	5.8	17 387	D–79.3	D–76.5

– Represents zero. (x) Not applicable. (Z) Less than .05 percent.
[1] Adjusted to allow for transfer of Little River township from Moke County to Moore County.

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Table 2.–COUNTIES

(Minus (–) denotes decrease)

Codes			County	Population and area, 1960				Population change, 1950–1960			Natural increase in population, 1960–1965	Population characteristics, 1960				Vote cast for President (D-Dem.; R-Rep.)		
SMSA	SEA	State and county		Total population	U.S. population rank	Land area	Population per square mile	Total	Net migration	Natural increase		Urban	Negro	Foreign stock	65 years old and over	Total, 1964	Vote for leading party	
																	1964	1960
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
			NORTH CAROLINA—Con.			Sq. mi.		Percent	Per-cent	Per-cent	Percent	Per-cent	Per-cent	Per-cent	Per-cent		Percent	Percent
–	3	34-079	Rockingham	69 629	430	572	122	7.4	-11.7	19.1	6.7	41.1	21.0	0.6	7.1	20 495	D-55.8	D-54.2
–	4	34-080	Rowan	82 817	363	517	160	9.8	-6.7	16.6	5.3	47.2	16.8	0.8	8.0	29 738	D-50.2	R-57.8
–	5	34-081	Rutherford	45 091	676	566	80	-2.7	-17.4	14.7	5.6	31.1	12.0	0.3	8.7	16 656	D-57.3	R-51.3
–	6	34-082	Sampson	48 013	628	963	50	-3.5	-22.7	19.2	5.5	15.5	35.9	0.6	7.1	15 701	D-51.4	D-51.0
–	9	34-083	Scotland	25 183	1 174	317	79	-4.4	-27.3	22.9	7.3	32.7	41.2	0.6	6.2	5 073	D-75.8	D-74.0
–	4	34-084	Stanly	40 873	748	399	102	10.1	-6.5	16.6	5.9	30.0	11.0	0.5	7.2	16 855	R-52.9	R-57.3
–	3	34-085	Stokes	22 314	1 304	459	49	3.7	-11.8	15.5	6.5	–	10.1	0.1	8.1	9 562	D-51.2	R-52.1
–	3	34-086	Surry	48 205	625	537	90	5.7	-12.6	18.4	6.6	20.6	5.8	0.5	7.9	17 780	D-55.2	R-55.1
–	1	34-087	Swain	8 387	2 442	530	16	-15.5	-33.0	17.5	7.8	–	0.8	0.7	9.7	3 828	D-59.9	D-50.7
–	1	34-088	Transylvania	16 372	1 706	379	43	7.8	-15.4	23.2	7.6	29.7	5.2	1.7	7.3	8 030	D-55.8	R-55.5
–	10	34-089	Tyrrell	4 520	2 865	399	11	-10.5	-24.0	13.6	5.2	–	43.7	0.8	10.0	1 370	D-72.7	D-72.6
037	5	34-090	Union	44 670		643	70	6.3	-12.0	18.3	7.6	24.4	21.4	0.4	7.3	11 437	D-63.0	D-64.7
–	3	34-091	Vance	32 002	962	249	129	-0.3	-20.1	19.8	7.1	39.8	43.8	0.8	7.7	8 638	D-60.0	D-73.9
160	6	34-092	Wake	169 082	191	864	196	23.9	4.8	19.1	8.2	63.2	25.9	2.1	6.5	54 195	D-58.4	D-58.6
–	6	34-093	Warren	19 652	1 866	443	44	-16.5	-34.6	18.1	5.4	–	62.6	1.1	9.2	4 758	D-59.9	D-80.7
–	7	34-094	Washington	13 488	1 942	336	40	2.3	-19.1	21.4	7.3	34.6	45.1	0.8	6.7	3 649	D-68.6	D-70.2
–	1	34-095	Watauga	17 529	1 614	320	55	-4.4	-19.8	15.3	6.3	21.0	1.3	0.6	8.7	7 965	D-50.6	R-59.3
–	6	34-096	Wayne	82 059	365	555	148	27.7	4.5	23.2	9.9	40.8	36.7	2.0	5.7	17 346	D-56.4	D-58.9
–	2	34-097	Wilkes	45 269	673	765	59	0.1	-16.4	16.4	6.9	9.3	6.0	0.3	7.9	20 190	R-54.6	R-62.0
–	6	34-098	Wilson	57 716	521	373	155	5.9	-14.9	20.8	7.1	49.6	40.2	0.7	6.3	12 240	D-59.1	D-72.0
–	3	34-099	Yadkin	22 804	1 281	335	68	3.0	-11.7	14.8	6.4	–	4.9	0.4	8.3	9 498	R-61.7	R-72.3
–	1	34-100	Yancey	14 008	1 896	311	45	-14.1	-28.6	18.3	5.6	–	1.0	0.6	9.7	5 718	D-69.0	D-50.2
			NORTH DAKOTA															
–		35-	The State	632 446	(x)	69 280	9	2.1	-17.0	19.0	8.1	35.2	0.1	30.0	9.3	238 389	D-58.0	R-55.4
–	1	35-001	Adams	4 449	2 874	989	5	-9.4	-26.1	16.7	6.3	–	–	28.0	9.8	1 888	D-53.5	R-59.7
–	3	35-002	Barnes	16 719	1 684	1 479	11	-1.0	-16.5	15.6	5.8	46.7	–	30.8	11.5	7 008	D-57.2	R-57.7
–	3	35-003	Benson	9 635	2 324	1 403	7	-11.6	-27.9	16.3	6.3	–	–	31.1	10.5	4 060	D-63.2	R-50.8
–	1	35-004	Billings	1 513	3 071	1 139	1	-14.9	-36.7	21.8	8.6	–	–	29.3	5.4	888	D-50.6	D-52.1
–	3	35-005	Bottineau	11 315	2 131	1 677	7	-6.8	-21.4	14.6	4.7	23.1	–	33.3	10.6	4 607	D-55.3	R-61.0
–	1	35-006	Bowman	4 154	2 904	1 170	4	3.8	-15.8	19.6	6.6	–	–	27.0	11.0	1 827	D-56.6	R-55.0
–	2	35-007	Burke	5 886	2 739	1 119	5	-11.1	-23.4	12.3	5.2	–	–	33.5	10.3	2 434	D-59.7	R-59.9
–	2	35-008	Burleigh	34 016	902	1 625	21	32.5	5.6	26.9	10.8	81.3	0.1	28.9	7.1	15 419	D-52.7	R-62.1
062	6	35-009	Cass	66 947	453	1 749	38	13.7	-4.9	20.6	8.2	78.2	–	26.3	8.8	28 669	D-54.7	R-58.9
–	3	35-010	Cavalier	10 064	2 270	1 512	7	-15.0	-31.9	16.9	6.5	–	–	37.0	9.5	4 231	D-66.4	R-51.2
–	5	35-011	Dickey	8 147	2 474	1 143	7	-10.7	-26.4	15.7	5.5	–	–	31.9	11.8	3 630	D-50.1	R-62.8
–	2	35-012	Divide	5 566	2 767	1 300	4	-6.7	-21.1	14.4	4.3	–	0.3	36.5	12.3	2 281	D-65.7	R-51.9
–	1	35-013	Dunn	6 350	2 675	1 992	3	-12.0	-31.2	19.3	8.2	–	–	34.7	7.0	2 432	D-55.6	R-52.5
–	3	35-014	Eddy	4 936	2 834	638	8	-8.1	-26.1	18.0	6.8	–	–	30.8	11.1	2 088	D-64.0	R-50.7
–	2	35-015	Emmons	8 462	2 432	1 503	6	-12.9	-33.8	20.9	8.8	–	–	35.9	7.2	3 315	R-53.1	D-53.5
–	3	35-016	Foster	5 361	2 793	649	8	0.4	-19.5	20.0	7.3	–	–	29.4	10.5	2 244	D-58.6	R-53.3
–	1	35-017	Golden Valley	3 100	2 974	1 014	3	-11.4	-27.0	15.5	3.5	–	–	17.6	10.9	1 324	R-54.3	R-55.0
–	4	35-018	Grand Forks	48 677	617	1 438	34	23.4	3.3	20.1	12.4	70.8	0.6	25.8	8.4	18 175	D-59.1	R-56.9
–	1	35-019	Grant	4 248	2 895	1 666	4	-12.2	-29.9	17.7	6.6	–	–	38.8	6.9	2 488	R-57.1	R-65.2
–	3	35-020	Griggs	5 023	2 828	710	7	-8.0	-22.0	14.0	4.1	–	–	37.6	12.4	2 390	D-63.0	D-49.9
–	1	35-021	Hettinger	6 317	2 683	1 134	6	-11.0	-35.5	24.5	8.1	–	–	31.3	7.4	2 465	D-51.7	R-55.8
–	2	35-022	Kidder	5 386	2 787	1 358	4	-12.7	-31.8	19.1	5.9	–	–	31.4	8.2	2 151	R-51.3	R-64.4
–	3	35-023	La Moure	8 705	2 415	1 136	8	-8.3	-26.0	17.7	5.0	–	–	33.1	10.8	3 755	D-57.1	R-61.4
–	2	35-024	Logan	5 369	2 790	1 001	5	-19.5	-35.2	19.7	7.5	–	–	36.8	7.2	2 141	R-55.4	R-64.1
–	3	35-025	McHenry	11 099	2 153	1 879	6	-11.6	-27.8	16.2	6.0	–	0.1	35.0	9.5	4 379	D-60.4	R-54.9
–	2	35-026	McIntosh	6 702	2 636	992	7	-11.7	-28.1	16.4	5.9	–	–	40.2	8.0	2 841	R-66.6	R-61.1
–	1	35-027	McKenzie	7 296	2 571	2 735	3	6.5	-11.9	18.5	5.8	–	–	26.7	9.2	2 938	D-53.9	R-53.1
–	2	35-028	McLean	14 030	1 892	2 065	7	-25.5	-46.1	20.7	5.3	–	–	31.8	9.5	5 547	D-60.2	R-55.0
–	1	35-029	Mercer	6 805	2 624	1 042	7	-21.7	-38.3	16.7	6.2	–	–	42.0	8.0	2 850	R-54.0	R-73.9
–	1	35-030	Morton	20 992	1 384	1 920	11	8.8	-15.1	23.9	8.8	5[illegible]	–	35.5	8.1	8 138	D-63.6	D-54.7
–	2	35-031	Mountrail	10 077	2 269	1 819	6	7.0	-13.6	20.6	5.7	–	–	29.2	10.3	3 683	D-69.2	D-54.4
–	3	35-032	Nelson	7 034	2 604	995	7	-13.1	-23.6	10.6	4.[illegible]	–	–	37.0	14.7	3 267	D-66.5	R-52.0
–	1	35-033	Oliver	2 610	3 016	721	4	-15.6	-30.5	14.9	[illegible]	–	–	31.2	6.9	1 017	D-53.9	R-58.7
–	4	35-034	Pembina	12 946	1 991	1 124	12	-7.5	-22.7	15.2	[illegible]	–	–	32.9	11.0	5 167	D-61.9	R-57.6
–	3	35-035	Pierce	7 394	2 559	1 038	7	-11.2	-29.9	18.7	7.[illegible]	–	–	34.9	8.4	3 073	D-61.6	D-55.8
–	3	35-036	Ramsey	13 443	1 947	1 248	11	-6.5	-22.6	16.1	7.2	66.[illegible]	0.1	31.0	10.8	5 987	D-59.7	R-56.1
–	5	35-037	Ransom	8 078	2 483	861	9	-9.0	-23.4	14.4	3.4	–	–	31.4	14.2	3 717	D-55.5	R-56.3
–	3	35-038	Renville	4 698	2 849	886	5	-13.1	-27.0	14.0	6.1	–	–	27.7	9.6	1 997	D-67.9	D-54.6
–	5	35-039	Richland	18 824	1 524	1 449	13	-5.2	-21.8	16.6	5.3	31.2	–	25.8	11.7	7 955	D-58.9	R-54.0
–	3	35-040	Rolette	10 641	2 208	913	12	-4.2	-30.6	26.4	15.1	–	0.1	20.9	7.1	3 458	D-74.2	D-64.6
–	5	35-041	Sargent	6 856	2 622	853	8	-10.0	-24.4	14.4	5.3	–	–	27.1	10.7	3 033	D-60.7	D-51.0
–	2	35-042	Sheridan	4 350	2 880	989	4	-17.2	-32.9	15.7	5.1	–	–	43.2	7.0	1 911	R-62.1	R-74.0
–	1	35-043	Sioux	3 662	2 933	1 103	3	-0.9	-29.6	28.7	13.6	–	–	16.1	5.1	1 013	D-68.6	D-54.6
–	1	35-044	Slope	1 893	3 056	1 225	2	-18.2	-40.1	21.9	9.2	–	–	22.8	8.0	765	D-57.0	R-52.4
–	1	35-045	Stark	18 451	1 552	1 316	14	14.3	-11.5	25.8	10.8	54.0	0.2	34.7	7.5	7 161	D-59.6	D-56.6
–	3	35-046	Steele	4 719	2 845	710	7	-8.3	-23.0	14.8	5.5	–	0.3	32.6	10.3	2 203	D-63.7	R-50.8
–	3	35-047	Stutsman	25 137	1 178	2 264	11	4.1	-12.8	16.9	6.9	60.3	–	26.0	10.2	9 474	D-57.7	R-56.8
–	3	35-048	Towner	5 624	2 762	1 043	5	-11.6	-25.9	14.3	5.1	–	–	28.1	9.3	2 417	D-67.4	R-52.2
–	4	35-049	Traill	10 583	2 215	861	12	-6.8	-18.9	12.1	4.3	–	–	33.3	12.4	4 929	D-53.0	R-60.7
–	4	35-050	Walsh	17 997	1 374	1 286	14	-4.6	-18.7	14.1	6.1	32.7	–	32.9	10.9	7 376	D-66.6	R-50.2
–	3	35-051	Ward	47 072	642	2 044	23	35.3	12.2	23.1	14.4	65.0	0.7	24.9	7.4	17 735	D-61.3	R-54.6
–	3	35-052	Wells	9 237	2 345	1 299	7	-11.3	-27.9	16.5	5.7	–	–	36.5	9.9	4 189	D-55.2	R-58.2
–	2	35-053	Williams	22 051	1 318	2 044	11	34.1	6.0	28.1	7.8	53.8	–	26.2	8.9	8 439	D-63.4	D-51.0

– Represents zero. X Not applicable.

[illegible]: For Democratic Party was 1,2[illegible]; for Republican Party 1,2[illegible].

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Appendix 2

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES STATE NINE MONTHS SCHOOL FUND, 1963-64

(Including School Bus Replacements)

Classification by Objects and Items	White	Black	%	Total
A. State Aid Paid Out by Units				
61. Gneral Control:				
611-1 Salary: Superintendents	$ 1,875,273.72	$.....	....	$ 1,875,273.72
611-2 Salary: Asst. Superintendents	758,275.28	.....	....	758,275.28
612 Travel: Superintendents	53,036.06	.....	....	53,036.06
613-1 Salaries: Clerical Assts.	847,588.52	.....	....	847,588.52
613-2 Salaries: Property & Cost Clerks	382,162.64	.....	....	382,162.64
614 Office Expenses	121,693.51	.....	....	121,693.51
615 Co. Bd. Ed: Per Diem, Travel	9,966.80	.....	....	9,966.80
617 Salaries: Attend, Couselors	253,827.57	.....	....	253,827.57
Total General Control	4,301,824.10	.....	....	4,301,824.10
62. Instruction Service:				
621 Salaries: Elem. Teachers	94,126,633.77	42,145,140.19	31	$136,271,773.96
622 Salaries: H.S. Teachers	38,227,184.13	13,416,702.62	26	51,643,886.75
623 Salaries:				
1. Elem. Principals	6,183,318.76	2,116,576.36	26	8,299,895.12
2. H.S. Principals	4,355,964.91	1,940,200.85	31	6,296,255.76
Sub-Total Inst. Salaries	$142,893,101.57	$59,618,710.02	29	$202,511,811.59
624 Instructional Supplies-General	1,284,290.96	515,425.07	29	1,799,716.03
624a. Instructional Supplies-Film	128,376.26	49,317.65	28	177,693.91
625-1 Salaries: Supervisors	1,515,942.60	360,152.50	19	1,876,095.10
627 Clerical Assistance in Schools	1,226,417.79	469,612.65	28	1,696,030.44
Total Instructional Services	$147,048,129.18	$61,013,217.89	29	$208,061,347.07
63: Operation of Plant:				
631 Wages: Janitors	$ 4,443,975.55	$ 1,500,172.68	25	$ 5,944,148.23
632 Fuel	1,707,381.47	639,431.01	27	2,346,812.48
633 Water, Light, Power	1,202,755.35	421,135.14	26	1,623,890.49
634 Janitors' Supplies	529,962.19	221,262,95	29	751,225.15
635 Telephones	88,111.03	29,524.24	25	117,635.27
Total Operation of Plant	$ 7,972,185.59	$ 2,811,526.03	26	$ 10,783,711.62
65. Fixed Charges:				
653 Compensation: School Employees	$ 82,587.51	21,371.22	21	103,958.73
654 Reimbursement: Injured Pupils	6,868.74	3,446.30	33	10,315.04
656 Tort Claims	145,285.29	32,204.13	18	177,489.42
Total Fixed Charges	234,741.54	57,021.65	20	291,763.19
66 Auxiliary Agencies:				
661 Transportation of Pupils:				
1. Wages of Drivers	1,690,880.47	710,224.49	30	2,401,104.96
2a. Gas, Oil, Grease	841,238.16	363,654.51	30	1,204,892.67
2b. Gas Storage Equipment	5,527.29	1,951.38	26	7,478.67

Appendix 2 Continued

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES STATE NINE MONTHS SCHOOL FUND, 1963-64

(Including School Bus Replacements)

Classification by Objects and Items		White	Black	%	Total
	3. Salary: Mechanics	$ 1,735,668.48	$ 682,670.08	28	$ 2,418.338.56
	4a. Repair Parts, Batteries	689,360.66	299,674.65	30	989,035.31
	4b. Tires and Tubes	373,654.15	141,334.18	27	514,988.33
	4c. License and Title Fees	568.55	213.95	27	782.50
	4d. Garage Equipment	20,102.75	4,593.47	19	24,696.22
	5. Contract Transportation	15,412.30	5,922.48	28	21,334.78
	Sub-Total (1-5)	$ 5,372,412.81	2,210,239.19	29	7,582,652.00
	6. Major Replacements	1,892,028.58	770,700.96	29	2,662,729.54
	7. Principals' Bus Travel	46,621.05	19,606.28	30	66,227.33
	Total Transportation	$ 7,311,062.44	3,000,546.43	29	10,311,608.87
662	School Libraries	841,459.61	313,825.59	28	1,128,285.20
664	Child Health Program	274,761.28	165,598.66	38	440,359.94
	Total Auxiliary Agencies	8,400,283.33	$ 3,479,970.68	29	11,880,254.01
	Total Paid Out by Units	$167,957,163.74	$67,361,736.25	29	$235,318,899.99

B. State Aid Paid Direct:

Printing, Surety Bond Premiums	$ 7,808.44
Exceptionally Talented Children Program	77,116.71
Shakespeare Project	26,000.00
Film on Consolidation	8,000.00
Governor's School	26,690.00
Program for the Mentally Retarded	23,455.00
School Improvement Project	67,500.00
Learning Institute of North Carolina	60,000.00
Total Support of Public Schools	$235,615,470.14

Appendix 3

NUMBER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TAKING VARIOUS SUBJECTS, 1963-64

Subject	WHITE		BLACK				TOTAL		
	No. Schools	No. Students	No. Schools	%	No. Students	%	No. Schools	Total Students	Ratio of Schools to Students
ENGLISH:									
English I	547	72,384	244	31	28,668	28	791	101,052	117.4 117
English II	506	65,565	232	31	24,876	28	738	90,441	107.2 107
English III	506	57,672	232	31	22,194	28	738	79,866	95.7 96
English IV	499	42,287	226	31	14,090	25	725	56,377	62.3 62
English V	22	919	5	19	125	12	27	1,044	25 25
Dramatics	73	2,247	37	34	1,058	32	110	3,305	28.6 29
Journalism	123	3,244	25	17	562	15	148	3,806	22.4 22
Speech	96	3,173	30	24	834	27	126	4,007	27.8 28
Remedial English	55	2,476	16	23	1,238	33	71	3,714	77.4 77
Creative Writing	29	794	4	12	82	9	33	876	20.5 21
Mythology	1	62					1	62	
Miscellaneous English	34	1,373	4	11	91	6	38	1,464	22.8 23
MATHEMATICS:									
General Math I	544	39,714	230	30	20,342	34	774	60,056	88.4 88
General Math II	84	4,939	34	29	2,637	35	118	7,576	77.6 78
Algebra I	544	50,343	244	31	19,831	28	788	70,174	81.3 81
Algebra II	455	30,721	180	28	7,576	20	635	38,297	42.1 42
Advanced Algebra	268	8,513	31	10	680	7	299	9,193	21.9 22
Plane Geometry	378	23,265	198	34	7,658	25	576	30,923	38.7 39
Solid Geometry	165	4,611	20	11	407	8	185	5,018	20.4 20
Unified Geometry	111	6,396	11	9	490	7	122	6,886	44.5 45
Trigonometry	231	6,054	70	23	1,268	17	301	7,322	18.1 18
Miscellaneous Math	24	930	15	38	857	48	39	1,787	57.1 57
SCIENCE:									
General Science	500	47,664	206	29	20,926	31	706	68,590	101.6 102
Physical Science	134	12,385	55	29	4,274	26	189	16,659	77.7 78
Senior Science	12	702	2	14	88	11	14	790	44 44
Earth Science	16	1,172	5	24	217	10	21	1,389	43.4 43
Biology	506	66,033	232	31	24,932	27	738	90,965	107.4 107
Advanced Biology	50	1,587	9	15	256	14	59	1,843	28.4 28
Physics	360	7,801	157	30	3,588	32	517	11,389	22.9 23
Chemistry	406	23,218	200	33	9,737	35	606	32,955	48.7 49
Advanced Chemistry	9	192	2	15	32	14	11	224	16 16
Miscellaneous Science	17	1,027	2	11	95	8	19	1,122	47.5 48

Appendix 3 Continued

NUMBER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TAKING VARIOUS SUBJECTS, 1963-64

Subject	WHITE No. Schools	WHITE No. Students	BLACK No. Schools	BLACK %	BLACK No. Students	BLACK %	TOTAL No. Schools	TOTAL Total Students	Ratio of Schools to Students	
TRADES AND INDUSTRIES:	144	4,238	95	40	2,929	41	239	7,169	30.8	31
MUSIC:										
General Music	28	880	45	62	2,844	76	73	3,724	63.2	63
Chorus, Choir Glee Club	255	17,493	153	37	8,819	34	419	26,312	57.6	58
Band	202	10,509	115	36	6,352	38	317	16,861	55.2	55
Instrumental Music, Orchestra	31	679	17	35	451	40	48	1,130	26.5	27
Other Music	79	5,346	20	20	1,820	25	99	7,166	91	91
ART:	173	7,723	66	28	3,043	28	239	10,866	46.1	46
INDUSTRIAL ARTS:	330	17,493	113	26	8,678	33	443	26,171	76.8	77
EDUCATION:	546	67,659	240	31	31,296	32	786	98,955	130.4	130
PHYSICAL EDUCATION:	218	26,859	82	27	9,077	25	300	35,936	110.7	111
BIBLE:	52	2,596	6	10	109	4	58	2,765	18.2	18
PSYCHOLOGY:	37	2,961	5	12	321	10	42	3,282	64.2	64
FOREIGN LANGUAGES:										
French I	460	23,066	230	33	11,566	33	690	34,632	50.3	50
French II	401	13,672	208	34	5,813	30	609	19,485	27.9	28
French III	81	1,954	24	23	557	22	105	2,511	23.2	23
French IV	18	386	6	25	98	20	24	484	16.3	16
Other French	2	74	2	50	57	44	4	131	28.5	29
Spanish I	173	12,037	32	17	1,830	13	205	13,867	57.2	57
Spanish II	128	6,140	20	14	1,002	14	148	7,142	50.1	50
Spanish III	38	866	4	10	56	6	42	922	14	14
Spanish IV	4	70	2	35	31	31	6	101	15.5	16
German I	8	411	1	11	48	10	9	459	48	48
GermanII	5	239	1	17	8	3	6	247	8	8
German III	3	55	1	25	17	24	4	72	17	17

Appendix 3 Continued

NUMBER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TAKING VARIOUS SUBJECTS, 1963-64

Subject	WHITE No. Schools	WHITE No. Students	BLACK No. Schools	BLACK %	BLACK No. Students	BLACK %	TOTAL No. Schools	TOTAL Total Students	Ratio of Schools to Students	
Russian I	1	13	—	—	—	—	1	13	17	17
Latin I	188	8,982	9	5	413	4	197	9,395	45.9	46
Latin II	149	6,752	8	5	287	4	157	7,039	35.9	36
Latin III	19	498	—	—	—	—	19	498	—	—
Latin IV	7	161	—	—	—	—	7	161	—	—
BUSINESS EDUCATION:										
Basic Business	224	11,769	118	35	4,847	29	342	16,616	41.1	41
Typewriting I	554	47,680	214	28	10,760	18	768	58,440	50.3	50
Typewriting II	432	13,781	156	27	4,148	23	588	17,929	26.6	26
Shorthand I	371	12,224	103	22	2,429	17	474	14,653	23.6	24
Shorthand II	140	2,275	14	9	203	8	154	2,478	14.5	15
Bookkeeping I	418	16,174	87	17	2,432	13	505	18,606	28	28
Bookkeeping II	21	306	8	28	161	34	29	467	20.1	20
Business Arithmetic	224	13,075	48	17	2,137	14	271	15,212	45.4	45
Business English	59	1,956	13	18	383	16	72	2,339	29.4	29
Business Law	27	1,320	7	21	181	12	34	1,501	25.9	26
Office Practice and Management	176	4,366	33	16	599	12	209	4,965	18.2	18
Business Economics	7	324	2	22	68	17	9	392	34	34
Miscellaneous Business	17	494	8	32	147	23	25	641	18.4	18
AGRICULTURE:										
Agriculture I	381	11,785	147	28	5,573	32	528	17,358	37.9	38
Agriculture II	371	8,379	146	28	4,151	33	517	12,530	28.4	28
Agriculture III	362	5,844	128	26	2,254	28	490	8,098	17.6	18
Agriculture IV	326	3,904	98	23	1,461	27	422	5,365	15.2	15
Miscellaneous Agriculture	11	141	—	—	—	—	11	141	—	—

Appendix 3 Continued

NUMBER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TAKING VARIOUS SUBJECTS, 1963-64

Subject	WHITE No. Schools	WHITE No. Students	BLACK No. Schools	BLACK %	BLACK No. Students	BLACK %	TOTAL No. Schools	TOTAL Total Students	TOTAL Ratio of Schools to Students	
SOCIAL STUDIES:										
Citizenship (Civics)	428	33,974	190	31	14,100	29	618	48.074	74.2	74
World History	478	46,894	214	31	19,277	29	692	66,171	90.1	90
United States History	493	61,014	219	31	18,636	23	712	79,650	85.1	85
Economics	338	14,852	177	34	7,564	34	515	22,416	42.7	43
Sociology	286	13,207	179	38	7,658	37	465	20,865	42.8	43
Problems of American Democracy	68	2,413	20	23	1,175	33	88	3,588	58.8	59
Geography	329	16,260	86	21	3,633	18	415	19,893	42.2	42
Government	93	4,636	18	16	1,191	20	111	5,827	66.2	66
Miscellaneous History	23	1,038	10	30	539	34	33	1,577	53.9	54
HOME ECONOMICS:										
Home Economics I	536	25,762	228	30	12,544	33	764	38,306	55.0	55
Home Economics II	471	15,538	213	31	8,430	35	684	23,968	39.6	40
Home Economics III	363	6,158	157	30	3,479	36	520	9,637	22.2	22
Home Economics IV	63	985	50	44	745	43	113	1,730	14.9	15
Family Life and Family Relationship	85	3,475	20	19	942	21	105	4,417	47.1	47
Foods	3	29	—	—	—	—	3	29	—	—
INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVE TRAINING:										
Industrial Cooperative Training I	54	1,050	10	16	134	11	64	1,184	13.4	13
Industrial Cooperative Training II	37	477	6	14	78	14	43	555	—	13

Appendix 3 Continued

NUMBER HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TAKING VARIOUS SBUJECTS, 1963-1964

Subject	WHITE No. Schools	WHITE No. Students	BLACK No. Schools	BLACK %	BLACK No. Students	BLACK %	TOTAL No. Schools	TOTAL Total Students	TOTAL Ratio of Schools to Students	
Industrial Cooperative Training III	1	24	—	—	—	—	1	24	—	—
Other I C T	3	66	—	—	—	—	3	66	—	—
DISTRIBUTIVE EDUCATION:										
Distributive Education I	83	2,339	7	8	217	8	90	2,556	31	31
Distributive Education II	67	1,092	5	7	87	7	72	1,179	17.4	17
Distributive Education III	2	60	—	—	—	—	2	60	—	—

Appendix 4

Dear Respondent:

We are attempting to reconstruct the structure and the pattern of activities and traditions that characterized the black high school in the South. With the use of the questionnair to follow and personal interviews, we hope to be able to collect data that gives an authentic picture of the real character of the black high school. Using these data as background there will be an attempt to discern the nature of the influence the black high school might have had on the development of the black community.

In many instances, records concerning the activities associated with the black high school are not available, nonexistent, or incomplete. As a consequence we have decided to ask former staff of and participants in black high schools to help us reconstruct the picture of these institutions as they recalled them from their vantage points. With this in mind, please answer the questions to follow as they apply to the last year you were involved in the activities of the all-black high school.

Sincerely,

Frederick A Rodgers

Frederick A. Rodgers
Associate Professor
Elementary Education

FAR:nm

Enclosures

Appendix 4 Continued

BACKGROUND ON PRINCIPAL

1. Sex
   ____Male
   ____Female

2. Race
   ____White/Caucasian
   ____Black/Negro/Afro-American
   ____American Indian
   ____Other

3. Age (to nearest birthday) _____

4. Where were you born? _____
   city state

5. Where did you live for most of the time while you were growing up?
   ____On a farm
   ____In a small town (2,000 or less)
   ____In a moderate-sized town or city (2,000-50,000)
   ____In a suburb of a large city
   ____In a large city (50,000 or more)

6. Degrees obtained (check all that apply)
   ____None
   ____Associate (A.A. or equivalent)
   ____Bachelor's degree (B.A., B.S.,etc.)
   ____Master's degree (M.A., M.A., etc.)
   ____Ph.D. or Ed.D.
   ____M.D., D.O., D.D.S., or D.V.M.
   ____B.D., M.Div., or S.T.M. (Divinity)

7. What year did you complete your undergraduate degree?_____

8. What was the name of your undergraduate college?_____
   name
   _____
   state

9. How many years did you teach full-time before becoming principal?_____

10. Please list all the subjects that you have ever taught, and the grade level at which you taught.

Subject	Grade Level

11. Did you continue to teach after becoming principal?
   ____Yes
   ____No

Appendix 4 Continued

12. How many years did you serve as principal?
At the elementary level_____
At the junior high school level_____
At the secondary level_____
Total number of years served as principal_____

13. At how many different schools did you serve as principal?_____

14. After desegregation did your school continue to operate?
____Yes
____No

If yes, check below.
____As an elementary school
____As a junior high school
____As a senior high school

15. a) If your school functioned as a secondary school after desegregation, how many years did it continue to operate?_____

b) Is your school presently in operation?
____Yes
____No

16. After desegregation, what was your status? (Check all that apply.)
____Principal at same school
____Principal at other school
____Assistant principal
____Other administrative position at the same school
____Administrative position at the central office
____Administrative position for state educational system
____Teacher of course in line with previous training and experience
____Teacher of course not in line with previous training and experience
____Retired
____Other

17. Do you still hold the same position?
____Yes
____No

18. How would you characterize your political views?
____Far left
____Liberal
____Middle-of-the road
____Conservative
____Far right

Appendix 4 Continued

19. What was your last annual salary as principal before desegregation?

____Under $5,000
____$5,000-5,999
____$6,000-6,999
____$7,000-7,999
____$8,000-8,999
____$9,000-9,999
____$10,000-10,999
____$11,000-11,999
____$12,000-12,999
____$13,000-13,999
____$14,000-14,999
____$15,000-15,999
____Over $16,000

20. If you are presently employed as a principal, what is your annual salary?

____Under $5,000
____$5,000-5,999
____$6,000-6,999
____$7,000-7,999
____$8,000-8,999
____$9,000-9,999
____$10,000-10,999
____$11,000-11,999
____$12,000-12,999
____$13,000-13,999
____$14,000-14,999
____$15,000-15,999
____Over $16,000

21. If you are presently employed by the state educational system or the central administration in a school system in a capacity other than principal, what is your annual salary?

____Under $5,000
____$5,000-5,999
____$6,000-6,999
____$7,000-7,999
____$8,000-8,999
____$9,000-9,999
____$10,000-10,999
____$11,000-11,999
____$12,000-12,999
____$13,000-13,999
____$14,000-14,999
____$15,000-15,999
____Over $16,000

Appendix 4 Continued

BACKGROUND ON SCHOOL

1. Where in the state of North Carolina was your school located?
   ____Center
   ____North
   ____South
   ____East
   ____West

2. Where was the school located?
   ____In the country
   ____In a small town (2000 or less)
   ____In a moderate-sized town or city (2,000-50,000)
   ____In a suburb of a large city
   ____In a large city (50,000 or more)

3. What grades were included in your school prior to desegregation?_____

4. Approximately how many students attended your school prior to desegregation?____

5. Approximately how many students were in grades 9-12?_____

6. Approximately how many teachers did you have for grades 9-12?_____

7. What was the approximate student-teacher ratio?_____

8. What percentage of teachers held less than a Class "A" Certificate?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

9. What percentage of teachers held an "A" Certificate?
   ____None
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

10. What percentage of teachers held a Bachelor's degree or equivalent?
    ____None
    ____Under 10%
    ____10-25%
    ____25-50%
    ____50-75%
    ____75-100%

11. What percentage of teachers held a Master's degree or equivalent?
    ____None
    ____Under 10%
    ____10-25%
    ____25-50%
    ____50-75%
    ____75-100%

Appendix 4 Continued

12. What was the last year that your school operated as an all-black school?_____

13. After desegregation did your school continue to operate?
____Yes
____No

14. If your school continued to operate after desegregation, what grades were included?_____

15. Prior to desegregation, how many teachers were employed at your school?_____

16. Prior to desegregation, how many other administrators were there besides yourself? (Do not include Department Chairmen.) _____

17. What was your school's accreditation status?
____Full accreditation
____Provisional accreditation
____Conditional accreditation
____Not accredited

18. Did you have the following departments? (Please check all that you had.)
____Math
____Social Studies
____English
____Foreign Language
____Home Economics
____Shop (Industrial Arts)
____Business Training
____Science
____Art
____Music
____Technical Training
____Other (please list)

Appendix 4 Continued

BACKGROUND ON STUDENTS

1. Where did the majority of the students in your school come from?
   ____Farms or rural areas
   ____Small towns (2,000 or less)
   ____Moderate-sized towns or cities (2,000-50,000)
   ____Suburb of a large city
   ____A large city (more than 50,000)

2. Approximately what percentage of parents were employed in the following categories? (Please refer to the occupation of the primary bread-winner in the family. The percentages in all the categories should add up to 100%.)
   ____unskilled workers (laborers, maids, farm workers, etc.)
   ____semi-skilled workers (machine operators, etc.)
   ____service workers (policemen, firemen, barbers, etc.)
   ____skilled workers or craftsmen (carpenters, electricians, plumbers, etc.)
   ____salesmen, bookkeepers, secretaries, office workers, etc.
   ____owners, managers, or partners of a small business (lower level)
   ____government officials, military commissioned officers
   ____engineers, elementary and secondary teachers (employed in a profession requiring a bachelor's degree)
   ____owners or high level executives in a large business (high level)
   ____doctors, lawyers, college professors (employed in a profession requiring an advanced college degree)

   ====
   100% TOTAL

3. How many students were in your last high school graduating class before desegregation?_____

4. Approximately what percentage of students dropped out before completing the 12th grade?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

5. Roughly what percentage of graduating students went on to college?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

6. Roughly what percentage of graduating students went to technical training schools?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

Appendix 4 Continued

7. What percentage of students stayed in the community after graduation or dropping out of school?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

8. How far did the students have to travel to school? (Please answer in terms of the percentage of students who had to travel the distance listed in each category. Your answers should total 100%)
____less than one mile
____between one mile and three miles
____between three miles and five miles
____between five and ten miles
____more than ten miles
100% TOTAL

9. Approximately what percentage of students worked part-time while attending high school?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

10. Roughly what percentage of students came from one-parent homes?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

11. Approximately what percentage of the population in your community was black?
____Under 10%
____10-20%
____20-30%
____30-40%
____40-50%
____50-60%
____60-70%
____70-80%
____80-90%
____90-100%

12. Approximately what percentage of students came from homes in which the parents were church-goers?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

Appendix 4 Continued

13. What was the average age for marriage among female black citizens in the community?
____Under 16
____16-18
____19-21
____22-25
____Over 25

14. What was the average age for marriage among male black citizens of the community?
____Under 16
____16-18
____19-21
____22-25
____Over 25

15. How many siblings did the students have? (Please answer in terms of the percentage of students who had the number of siblings listed in each category. Your answers should total 100%.)
____No siblings
____One or two siblings
____Three to five siblings
____Six to nine siblings
____More than nine siblings
____
100% TOTAL

16. Did most of the students come from similar family backgrounds?
____Yes
____No

17. Did most of the students have similar interests?
____Yes
____No

18. Did most of the students have similar values?
____Yes
____No

19. Did most of the students have similar aspirations?

20. Approximately what percentage of parents were interested in their children receiving good grades in school? (Explain if you can recall some examples.)
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

21. Approximately what percentage of parents were interested in their children's involvement in extracurricular activities? (Explain if you can recall some examples.)
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

Appendix 4 Continued

22. Approximately what percentage of parents took an active interest in the school? (Can you give examples?)
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

23. Approximately what percentage of parents were active in other community organizations? (Please list some of the organizations if you can recall any.)
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

24. Did a sense of community exist among blacks in your locale? Can you provide some examples to support your answer?
____Yes
____No

25. How informed were most parents with respect to local and regional political affairs? Please comment if you like.)
____Wholly uninformed
____Not very well informed
____Fairly well informed
____Very well informed

Appendix 4 Continued

ACTIVITIES

In the questions below, please note that the term "extracurricular activity" refers to all school-sponsored activities, both athletic and non-athletic, and thus includes activities such as participation in football, student council, band, drama club, Future Homemakers of America, etc. Please distinguish between athletic extracurricular activities (sports) and non-athletic extracurricular activities whenever the question requires it.

1. Approximately what percentage of the students participated in extracurricular activities?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

2. Approximately what percentage of students who went out for sports were involved in more than one sport's activity?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

3. Approximately what percentage of students went out for one or more sports were also involved in non-athletic extracurricular activities?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

4. Approximately what percentage of students involved in non-athletic extracurricular activities were involved in more than one non-athletic activity?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

5. Approximately what percentage of students who held leadership positions in one sport also held them in another sport?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

6. Approximately what percentage of students who held leadership positions in one non-athletic activity held them in another non-athletic activity?
   ____Under 10%
   ____10-25%
   ____25-50%
   ____50-75%
   ____75-100%

Appendix 4 Continued

7. What was the approximate correlation between athletic achievement and scholastic achievement?
____Zero
____.25
____.50
____.75
____1.00

8. What was the approximate correlation between leadership in extracurricular activities and scholastic achievement?
____Zero
____.25
____.50
____.75
____1.00

9. Approximately what percentage of those students who excelled in sports dropped out of school before graduation?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

10. Approximately what percentage of those who held leadership positions in non-athletic extracurricular activities dropped out of school before graduation?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

11. Approximately what percentage of those who excelled in athletics went on to college?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

12. Approximately what percentage of those who held leadership positions in non-athletic extracurricular activities went on to college?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

13. Approximately what percentage of students who held leadership positions in sports or other extracurricular activities and remained in or returned to the community became community leaders?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

Appendix 4 Continued

14. Approximately what percentage of parents were involved in the P.T.A.?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

15. Approximately what percentage of parents who were actively involved in the P.T.A. were involved in other community or church activities?
____Under 10%
____10-25%
____25-50%
____50-75%
____75-100%

16. How would you rank the school spirit at your school?
____Nonexistent
____Quite low
____Low
____Moderate
____Quite high
____High
____Very high

Appendix 4 Continued

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

In the questions below, "leadership positions" refers to those positions which were elected by the participants. Examples would be the offices of President, Vice President, Secretary, Captain, etc. "Apprenticeship positions" refers to those positions which are appointed by a staff member. These would include examples such as trainer of an athletic team, assistant band conductor, yearbook editor,(if selected by the faculty), etc.

1. Did you have a football team?
   ___Yes
   ___No

   If yes,
   Approximately how many students attended the games?_____
   Approximately how many leadership positions were available on the team?_____
   Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

2. Did you have a basketball team?
   ___Yes
   ___No

   If yes,
   Approximately how many students attended the games?_____
   Approximately how many leadership positions were available on the team?_____
   Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

3. Did you have a track team?
   ___Yes
   ___No

   If yes,
   Approximately how many students attended the track meets?
   Approximately how many leadership positions were available on the team?_____
   Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

4. Did you have a swim team?
   ___Yes
   ___No

   If yes,
   Approximately how many students attended the swimming meets?_____
   Approximately how many leadership positions were available on the team?_____
   Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

5. Did you have a baseball team?
   ___Yes
   ___No

   If yes,
   Approximately how many students attended the games?
   Approximately how many leadership positions were available on the team?_____
   Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

Appendix 4 Continued

6. Did you have a tennis team?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students attended the matches?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available on the team?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

7. Did you have a wrestling team?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students attended the meets?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available on the team?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

8. Did you have a gymnastics team?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students attended the meets?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available on the team?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

9. Did you have a Girl's Athletic Association?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available in the group?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

10. Did you have organized intramural sports after school?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

11. Did you have a modern dance club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

Appendix 4 Continued

12. Did you have a synchronized swim club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

13. Did you have any other sports clubs?
____Yes
____No

If yes, please list:

Club	Number of Members	Leadership Positions	Apprenticeship Positions

14. Did you have a drama group?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

15. Did you have cheerleaders?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

16. Did you have a math club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

17. Did you have a business club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

Appendix 4 Continued

18. Did you have a Future Homemakers Club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

19. Did you have a Future Farmers of America Club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

20. Did you have a library club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

21. Did you have a health occupations club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

22. Did you have majorettes?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

23. Did you have pom-pom girls?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

24. Did you have a band?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

Appendix 4 Continued

25. Did you have an orchestra?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

26. Did you have a men's glee club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

27. Did you have a women's glee club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

28. Did you have a mixed chorus?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

29. Did you have a school newspaper?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students participated?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____
How often was the paper published?_____

30. Did you have a yearbook?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students worked on it?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

Appendix 4 Continued

31. Did you have any foreign language clubs?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
How many?_____
Please list them

Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

32. Did you have a science club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

33. Did you have an art club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

34. Did you have a photography club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

35. Did you have a girls-club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

36. Did you have a debate club?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____

Appendix 4 Continued

37. Did you have a student council?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many students were members?_____
Approximately how many leadership positions were available?_____
Approximately how many apprenticeship positions were available?_____

38. Did you have a P.T.A.?
____Yes
____No

If yes,
Approximately how many parents were members?_____
Approximately how many teachers were members?_____

39. In addition to the clubs listed above, did you have any additional clubs? Please list below and give the approximate membership of the group.

40. Did you have any honor societies?
____Yes
____No

If yes, please list below and give the approximate membership of the group.

41. How many annual beauty contests did you have?_____

42. Did you have a Homecoming King?
____Yes
____No

43. Did you have a Homecoming Queen?
____Yes
____No

44. Did you have frequent school dances?
____Yes
____No

Approximately how many per year?_____
Approximately how many students attended each dance?_____

Appendix 4 Continued

45. Approximately how many formal dances did you have annually?_____
What was the average number of students attending?_____

46. Did the students decorate the gymnasium for the formal dances?
____Yes
____No

47. What sports groups were part of regional conferences? (Check all that apply.)

____Football ____Basketball ____Other (Please list)
____Baseball ____Track

48. Did your school teams compete for state championships? (Check all that apply.)

____Football ____Basketball ____Other (Please list)
____Baseball ____Track

49. Did any other clubs participate in state-wide activities?
____Yes
____No

What clubs participated? (Please check all that apply.)

____Debate Club ____Band ____Chorus
____Drama Club ____Orchestra ____Other

50. Please check the groups that participated in state-wide contests.

____Debate Club ____Band ____Chorus
____Drama Club ____Orchestra ____Other

51. Did you celebrate Negro History Week?
____Yes
____No

If yes, please describe some of the events.

52. How was maney raised for extracurricular activities? (Please check all that apply.)
____through bake sales
____through concessions located on the school premises
____through vending machines
____through contributions from community organizations (please list these organizations)

____through fund-raising drives in the community
____through other means (please list these means)

Appendix 4 Continued

53. Did community organizations contribute money for college scholarships?
____Yes
____No

54. Did community organizations contribute money to the schools for other purposes?
____Yes
____No

What kinds of purposes?

55. How many student groups were sponsored by the church?_____
Please list some of these groups.

56. How many student groups were sponsored by other community organizations?_____
Please list some of these groups and sponsoring organizations.

57. Community support for an interest in athletic teams was
____very strong
____strong
____moderate
____poor
____indifferent

58. What other student groups had <u>very strong</u> community support? Please list.

What other student groups had <u>strong</u> community support? Please list.

What other student groups had <u>moderate</u> community support? Please list.

59. Parents' involvement in school activities was
____very strong
____strong
____moderate
____poor
____indifferent

Appendix 4 Continued

60. How often was the school used for community-related meetings and organizations?

____very often
____often
____sometimes
____rarely
____never

Please provide some examples if you can.

Appendix 5

Areas That Have A Black Principal of A High School Unit

City or Area	Number of Black H.S. Principals
1. Burlington	1
2. Raleigh	1
3. Goldsboro	1
4. Greensboro	1
5. Winston-Salem	1
6. Durham	1
7. Reidsville	1
8. Pinehurst	1
9. Kinston (9th and 10th grade only)	1
10. Wilson (10th grade only)	1
11. Gastonia	1
12. Fuquay-Varina	1
13. Halifax County	1
14. New Burn	1
15. Charlotte	1

Appendix 6

High School # 1 Enrollment for 1972-73 2,080

Extracurricular Activities	Students		Staff	
	Total	Black	Total	Black
Football	57	22	2	1
J.V. Football	33	15	1	1
Soccer	20	0	2	0
Tennis				
Girls	14	0	1	0
Boys	13	0	1	0
Golf	4	0	1	0
Baseball	23	3	1	0
Track	34	11	2	0
Cross Country	8	0	1	0
Basketball	14	8	1	0
J.V. Basketball	13	8	1	0
Gymnastics				
Girls	14	4	2	0
Wrestling	29	7	1	0
Student Council Officers	40	16		
Class Presidents	50	8		
Yearbook Committee and Staff	18	2		
School Newspaper	49	2	1	0
National Honor Society	55	4(girls)		
Service Club	32	8		
Interschool Council	3	1		
Marshals	25	5		
Student Advisory Committee	10	5		
Majorettes	8	3		
Varsity Cheerleaders	12	5		
J.V. Cheerleaders	7	2		
Capulettes (pom pom girls)	23	12		
Honey Caps	4	3		
Symphonic Orchestra	52	5	1	0
Symphonic Band	79	3		
Mixed Chorus	63	13		
Girls Ensemble	28	3		
Choral Ensemble	24	4		
Marching Band	66	22*		
Tri-Lamba Y-Teens	43	9		
Senior Hi-Y	20	0		
Monogram Club	21	5		
Lady Bug Y-Teens	29	0		
Junior Hi-Y	15	1		
Fellowship of Christian Athletes	26	4	1	0
French Club	29	6		
German Club	25	0		
Spanish Club	33	5		
Latin Club	13	0		
Ecology Club	5	0		

* This figure is a high estimate

Appendix 6 Continued

High School # 1

Activities	Students		Staff	
	Total	Black	Total	Black
Chess & Bridge	27	0		
Radio Staff	7	0		
Political Science Discussion Group	23	1		
Literary Club	38	0		
Health Careers	29	3		
VICA	15	12		
DECA	32	18		
FHA	14	1		
COO	22	7		
FTA	14	2		
AFJROTC	81	15		
JROTC Rifle Drill Team	17	4		
JROTC Color Guard	8	4		
Bus Drivers	29	11		
Staff				
Administration:				
Principal	1	0		
Assistant Principal	2	1		
Secretary	3	0		
Bookkeeper	1	0		
Support Staff:				
Reading	2	0		
Attendance Aide	1	0		
Counselor	4	0		
Social Services	1	1		
Teachers	96	17		

Appendix ?

High School # 2 Enrollment for 1972-73 1,666

Extracurricular Activities	Students		Staff	
	Total	Black	Total	Black
Football	38	18	2	1
J.V. Football	40	23	2	1
Basketball	11	6		
Wrestling	17	8	2	0
Baseball	12	2	2	0
Cross Country	3	0		
Track	9	3	1	0
Tennis				
Boys	9	0	1	0
Girls	12	1	1	0
Gymnastics	8	4		
Yearbook	37	6	1	0
School Newspaper	17	1		
Masguers (honorary dramatic society)	6	1		
Good Sports Club	26	7	1	0
Service Club	17	4		
Phalanx	26	1		
Booster Club	28	3		
Chorus	41	33		
Band	108	36		
Drum Majors	2	1		
Color Guard Commanders	2	1		
Majorettes	28	10		
National Honor Society	24	1		
New Members (NHS)	4	0		
Distributive Education Club (DECA)	64	20		
Vocation Industrial Club (VICA)	37	7		
KUDOS Club	20	11		
Cheerleaders	14	6		
Future Business Leaders of America (FBLA)	15	5	1	0
Drug Task Force	14	2		
Class Officers	10	0		
Outstand Seniors	19	8		
Student Advisory Committee	6	3		
Human Relation Committee	9	1		
Student Council Officers	25	8		

Staff

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Administration:		
Principal	1	0
Associate Principal	1	1
Assistant Principal	1	0
Office Staff	6	1
Teachers	70	23

Appendix 8

High School # 3 Enrollment for 1972-73 1,044

Extracurricular Activities	Students		Staff	
	Total	Black	Total	Black
Football	44	10	4	1
J.V. Football	40	12	3	1
Cross Country	10	1		
Basketball	12	8	1	1
J.V. Basketball	10	6	1	0
Wrestling	14	1	1	0
Tennis				
Girls	15	0	2	0
Boys	13	0	1	0
Track				
Girls	23	7	1	1
Boys	31	9	1	0
Baseball	26	0	2	0
Cheerleaders	10	3	1	0
Girls Softball	44	35	2	1
Yearbook	34	4	1	0
School Newspaper	8	2	1	0
Keyette Club	48	3		
Key Club	22	6	1	0
National Honor Society	37	0	1	1
Quill and Scroll	6	2	1	0
Student Council	21	7		
Judicial Board	8	4		
Human Relations Committee	13	7		
Bus Drivers	34	21	1	1
Industrial Cooperative Training	21	4	1	0
Spanish Club	27	4	1	0
French Club	41	9	1	1
Science Club	17	1	1	0
Debate Club	37	22	1	1
Future Teachers of America	19	4	2	0
Future Homemakers	10	2	1	1
Future Business Leaders	12	1	2	0
Health Careers	32	5	1	0
Fellowship of Christian Athletes	61	3	1	1
Monogram Club	14	0	1	0
Cooperative Office Occupations	9	2	1	0
Distributive Ed. Clubs of America	24	7	1	0
Chorus	30	26	1	0
Marching Band	49	49	1	0
Concert Band	50	36	1	0
Majorettes	6	2		
Band Major	1	1		
Staff				
Administration:				
Principal	1	0		

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High School # 3

Administration (cont.)	Total	Black
Assistant Principals	2	1
Secretaries	2	0
Office Workers	12	1
Counselors	2	1
Teachers	52	13

Appendix 9

High School # 4 Enrollment for 1972-73 1,659

Extracurricular Activities	Students		Staff	
	Total	Black	Total	Black
Football	54	26	3	0
Basketball	10	9	2	1
J.V. Basketball	9	6	1	0
Freshman Cagers	14	9	1	1
Wrestling	17	10	1	0
Track (outstanding stars)	8	7*		
Baseball	20*	0	1	0
J.V. Baseball (couldn't get count)				
Golf	8	0		
Varsity Cheerleaders	11	5		
J.V. Cheerleaders	7	3		
Freshman Cheerleaders	12	4		
National Honor Society	31	11	2	1
Social Studies Club	10	2	1	0
Chess Club	6	0	1	0
SODA (Students Opposed to Drug Abuse)	9	2		
Drama Club	11	4	1	0
FHA Coffee Klatches	8	7		
Yearbook	21	6		
School Newspaper	11	3	1	0
Math Club	16	5	1	1
Bus Drivers	33	23		
VICA	12	6	1	0
DECA (couldn't get accurate count)				
Chorus	50	39	1	1
Lead Soloists	6	6	1	1
Band	23	19	1	0
Majorettes	2	1		
Drum Major	2	1		
Student Association	51	22	2	1
Staff				
Administration:				
Principal (East & West)	2	1		
Assistant Principal	1	0		
Dean of Students	1	1		
" " " Staff	2	2		
Office:				
Secretaries	6	3		
Teachers	67	28		

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* These figures are estimated.

Appendix 10

High School # 5 Enrollment for 1972-73 1,476

Extracurricular Activities	Students		Staff	
	Total	Black	Total	Black
Football	35	17	3	2
J.V. Football	24	14		
Basketball	11	9	1	0
J.V. Basketball	13	10		
J.V. Cheerleaders	12	4		
Varsity Cheerleaders	12	5		
Wrestling	14	11		
Baseball	18	3	2	2
Track	14	13		
Tennis				
Boys	15	2		
Girls	7	3		
Girls' Track	8	4		
National Honor Society	46	4		
Chapter of National BETA Club	32	4		
Spanish National Honor Society	27	4		
Pan-AM Club	33	3	1	1
French Club	19	2		
Latin National Honor Society	17	2	1	0
Mathematics National Honor Society	41	4	1	0
Computer Club	9	0	1	0
History Club	18	3		
Choralettes	14	6		
Modern Music Makers	31	4	1	0
Madrigals	19	2		
Concert Choir	43	8	1	0
Mixed Chorus	46	29	1	0
Marching Band	28	8		
Majorettes	9	0		
Wind Ensemble	41	6		
Varsity Band	10	3		
Library A.-V.	20	4	1	1
Cooperative Office Occupations Club	5	4	1	1
Future Homemakers of America	7	2		
Bible Club	13	2	1	0
Fencing Club	6	3		
American Medical Careers of Tomorrow	16	2	1	0
Pep Club	11	9	1	1
GAA	18	7		
Junior Civinettes	42	3		
Junior Civitans	19	2		
Honorable Patrons of Folk Arts and Sciences	11	0		
Parnassians	29	1	1	0
Art Club	5	2		
Newspaper	13	2	1	0
Yearbook	19	5	1	0

Appendix 10 Continued

High School # 5 (cont.)

	Total	Black
Staff		
Administration:		
Principal	1	0
Assistant Principal	2	0
Office Staff:	3	0
Secretaries	1	0
Records Clerk	1	0
Counselors	3	1
Teachers	75	27

Appendix 11

High School # 6 Enrollment for 1972-73 1,378

Extracurricular Activities	Students		Staff	
	Total	Black	Total	Black
Football	29	10		
Basketball	12	5		
J.V. Basketball	11	4		
Soccer	17	0	1	0
Wrestling	16	5		
Track	9	3	1	1
Tennis				
Boys	15	0	1	0
Girls	10	1	1	0
Student Council	8	2		
Homeroom Representatives	41	13		
Interclub Council	16	0		
Executive Council	21	2		
Student Relations Committee	33	26		
Devotional Club	12	3		
Hospitality Committee	12	3		
Publicity Committee	9	1		
Safety Committee	10	8		
Student Store Committee	13	2		
Concessions Committee	30	7		
Student Lounge Committee	9	1		
Mimeographing Committee	9	0		
Maintenance & Supply Committee	5	0	1	1
Yearbook	22	0		
Traffic Committee	6	1		
Elections Committee	25	7		
VICA	40	15	2	1
DECA	27	11		
COO	18	6		
FHA	12	10		
Y-Teens	25	11		
Hi-Y	25	3	1	0
Honor Society	34	1		
Service Club	27	5		
GAA	21	7	2	1
FCA	26	3	1	0
Marshalls	14	5	1	0
Spanish Club	17	5		
French Club	20	0		
German Club	30	1		
Bus Drivers	14	7		
Audio Visual	3	1		
Stage Committee	9	0		
Dramatics Club	29	12		
Pep Club	30	12		
Majorettes	5	0		
Eagles Eye	16	1		
Marching Unit	30	9		

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Appendix 11 Continued

High School # 6

Activities	Students		Staff	
	Total	Black	Total	Black
Varsity Cheerleaders	12	4		
J.V. Cheerleaders	6	1		
Concert Band	51	16		
Marching Band	44	14*		
Stage Band	13	9		
Symphonic Orchestra	39	12		
Girls Chorus	15	4		
Girls Ensemble	19	5		
Mixed Chorus	29	15		
Concert Chorus	66	13		
Mixed Ensemble	30	3		
Staff				
Administration:				
Principal			1	1
Assistant Principal			1	0
Registrar			1	0
Bookkeeper			1	0
Counselor			4	1
Secretary			1	0
Home-School Coordinator			1	1
Teachers			60	12

* Estimated Figure

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